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# CÁIN ADAMNÁIN

AN OLD-IRISH TREATISE ON THE LAW  
OF ADAMNAN

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.  
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*Anecdota Oxoniensia*

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AN OLD-IRISH TREATISE ON THE  
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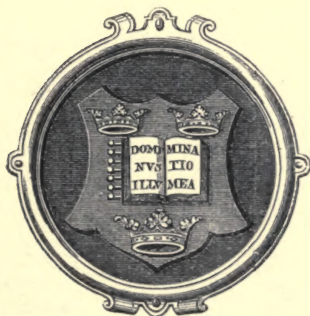
EDITED AND TRANSLATED

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Do Adamnán Iæ  
asa tóidlech tóiden  
ro ír Ísu úasal  
sóirad mbúan ban nGóidel.  
*Féilire Óingusso, Sept. 23.*



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TO THE MEMORY OF MY FRIEND

FREDERICK YORK POWELL

THE ARDENT CHAMPION OF IRISH LEARNING

I INSCRIBE

THIS LITTLE BOOK

A pháirt dom ní áirhmhim ná a aoibhe,  
gé fuair mé 'na mhéin tar mhíltibh,  
a éagmais ghnáth, a ghrádh 's a dhioghrais,  
a chion 's a chogar, a chomann 's a chaoine.

SEATHRÚN CÉITINN.



## PREFACE

THE following work has been edited from the only two MSS. in which, so far as I am aware, it has come down to us.

The first and more ancient of these is to be found in Rawlinson B. 512, a well-known and often described codex of the Bodleian Library. It begins at the top of fo. 45a1 and ends abruptly and imperfectly on fo. 51b1, where it is immediately followed by a poem<sup>1</sup> on the maledictive psalms selected by Adamnan. This copy, which I call *R*, forms part of a separate layer of eleven sheets of thick vellum from fo. 31-52, and seems to me to have been written in the fifteenth century. The scribe does not state his name nor whence he derived his copy.

The second MS. employed in forming the text of the present work is preserved in the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, where it is numbered 2324-40 (pp. 76a-85b). It is a copy made in the year 1627 by Michael O'Clery from a MS. written by his cousin Cú-mumhan mac Tuathail í Clérig<sup>2</sup>. This copy, which I call *B*, is ultimately derived from a MS. of the monastery of Raphoe; for the title in *B* runs thus on p. 76a: *Incipit Cain Adamnain ar slict senlibuir Ratha Bothæ*.

There can be no doubt that this 'old book of Raphoe' was also the source from which *R* has finally sprung. For though *R* and *B* are not absolutely identical<sup>3</sup>, their common origin is betrayed by certain curious spellings and mistakes which all the successive scribes have faithfully preserved. Of these it will suffice to mention a few. In § 8 both MSS. have the faulty *Ronat* instead of *Ronnat*; in the same paragraph both have the unusual spelling *boedh* for *báid*; again, in § 35 the mistake *noert* for *neort* has been preserved by both. In § 39 both write *atroible* for *atroilli*, and in § 38 *caicin* for *caingin*.

The Book of Raphoe seems to have been a collection of documents relating to Adamnan; for Michael O'Clery's copy of the *Canons of*

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *Hibernica Minora*, p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> See the colophon printed *infra*, p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Apart from minor discrepancies I may mention the different arrangement of §§ 4 and 5, and the omission of the *Sententia angeli* (§ 33) in *B*.

*Adamnan* contained in the same Brussels MS. is also derived from it<sup>1</sup>. Whenever the Book of Raphoe was compiled, there can be no doubt that our text was originally composed during the old-Irish period, probably in the ninth century. This is evident from the language in which the deponent, the s-subjunctive, the particle *ro* in its various functions, and the neuter are still in full force.

The treatise itself is a document of historical importance requiring careful study and analysis. It was my intention to deal fully in an introduction with the question of its composition, and to point out its value for the history of early Irish civilization, as well as for that of the Celtic Church at the important period of its transition to Rome. But a protracted illness and an enforced absence from home and books render this fascinating task impossible for the present; while the bulk of the book has been in print so long that I must no longer delay its publication. I will only mention that the treatise is evidently pieced together from different sources, among which the list of abbots, bishops, and kings (§ 28) is a most valuable historical document independent of the Annals. It will be noticed that it contains the names of the chief members of the Romanizing party among the Gaelic clergy of Ireland and Scotland, such as Aed of Sletty, Muirchu maccu Machthéne, Flann Febla, bishop Curetan, and also includes bishop Ecgerbert, the representative of the Anglo-Roman party. The date of the promulgation of the 'Law of the Innocents' is given by the Annals of Ulster as 696, i.e. 697 A.D.<sup>2</sup> All the guarantors mentioned in our list, so far as we know the dates of their deaths, were alive in that year.

My best thanks are due, as so often before, to Mr. Whitley Stokes and Professor John Strachan for much valuable help kindly given, while a third friend is no longer among the living to receive my gratitude. To him who forwarded and followed the publication of this book with special interest I should have dedicated it, had he been spared. I now inscribe it to his memory.

KUNO MEYER.

UJ-TÁTRAFÜRED, HUNGARY,  
August, 1904.

<sup>1</sup> The title runs: 'S. Adamnani Canones ar slicht senlibuir Ratha Bothæ.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Adomnanus ad Hiberniam pergit et dedit legem innocentium populis.'

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1. Cóc amsira rīa ngein *Crīst*.i.ō Ādam co dīlinn, ō dīlinn co Abraam <sup>1</sup>, ō Abraam <sup>1</sup> co Dūīd, ō Dūīd co broit i mBaibilōin, ō broit Babilōne <sup>2</sup> co gein *Crīst*. Mnā <sup>3</sup> rouhātar i ndōeriu 7 i ndochraiti frisin rēi sin, co tānec Adamnān mac Rōnāin meic Tinne meic Āedhu meic Coluim meic Lugdach meic Shētnu meic Fergusa <sup>4</sup> meic Conuild meic Nēill.

2. Cumalach ba hainm do mnāiph co tāineg Adamnān dīa sōerad <sup>5</sup> 7 bá sí so in cumalach in ben dīa claite derc hī cinn na cobla co ticeth dar a fēili. Cend ind inbir furri co roisceth bruith in lochta. Iar tiachtain dī asin pull talman sin, cainnel <sup>6</sup> cethri ferglac do tumud <sup>7</sup> dī a mulimme *nō* gereth. In cainnel sin do uhith for a dernaind co roisceth roind 7 dāil 7 dērgudh i tighib <sup>8</sup> rīgh 7 ærchinnech. Nī uīth cuīt don <sup>9</sup> m[n]āi sin i mbulg nach a criol <sup>10</sup> nach a n-ōentig <sup>11</sup> aithigh tighi, acht a bith i n-ūarboith fri less amuig, nā tīsad airbuid <sup>12</sup> de muir nā tīr dochum a airc[h]indich.

3. In ben ba dech de mnāiph, ba sí opair dogniid, techt ar cenn catha 7 cathrōi, dāil 7 dūnaid, fechta 7 slōgaid, gonæ <sup>13</sup> 7 airligh. A tiagh <sup>14</sup> looin for indara tāib dī, al-lenbān for in tōib n-ailiu. A fīdcheis fria hais. Trīcha traigeth ina hairdi <sup>15</sup>. Corrān iaroinn <sup>16</sup> for indara cinn dī, conidh edh doberedh ar trilis <sup>17</sup> na bandscāile aili assin cad <sup>18</sup> n-araile. A fer inna dīaidh; cūaille airbed <sup>19</sup> inna lāim oc a sroigled <sup>20</sup> ar cenn catha. Ar ba cenn mnaa *nō* dā ciich nobethe i tasilbhath in tan sin <sup>21</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Abraham *B.*      <sup>2</sup> Babilioine *B.*      <sup>3</sup> *sic B.*, mnau *R.*      <sup>4</sup> meic Fergusa  
*om. R.*      <sup>5</sup> soerath *B.*      <sup>6</sup> *sic B.*, cainnil *R.*      <sup>7</sup> tuma *B.*      <sup>8</sup> tighib *B.*, toighib *R.*  
<sup>9</sup> din *B.*      <sup>10</sup> clior *R.*      <sup>11</sup> æntigh *B.*, oentaig *R.*      <sup>12</sup> tīsat arbaith *B.*      <sup>13</sup> *sic B.*,  
guin *R.*      <sup>14</sup> tech *B.*      <sup>15</sup> airde *B.*      <sup>16</sup> iarnaidiu *B.*      <sup>17</sup> thrilis *R.*  
<sup>8</sup> cath *B.*      <sup>19</sup> airbheth *B.*      <sup>20</sup> *sic B.*, srobhlugha *R.*      <sup>21</sup> co rosoer Adamnan *add. B.*



1. Five ages before the birth of Christ, to wit, from Adam to the Flood, from the Flood to Abraham, from Abraham to David, from David to the Captivity in Babylon, from the Babylonian Captivity to the birth of Christ. During that time women were in bondage and in slavery, until Adamnan, son of Ronan, son of Tinne, son of Aed, son of Colum, son of Lugaid, son of Setne, son of Fergus, son of Conall, son of Niall, came.

2. *Cumalach*<sup>1</sup> was a name for women till Adamnan came to free them. And this was the *cumalach*, a woman for whom a hole was dug at the end of the door so that it came over her nakedness. The end of the great spit was placed upon her till the cooking of the portion was ended. After she had come out of that earth-pit she had to dip a candle four men's hands in length in<sup>2</sup> a plate of butter or lard; that candle to be on her palm until division of food and distribution of liquor and making of beds, in the houses of kings and chieftains, had ended. That woman had no share in bag nor in basket, nor in the company of the house-master; but she dwelt in a hut outside the enclosure, lest bane from sea or land should come to her chief.

3. The work which the best of women had to do, was to go to battle and battlefield, encounter and camping, fighting and hosting, wounding and slaying. On one side of her she would carry her bag of provisions, on the other her babe. Her wooden pole upon her back. Thirty feet long it was, and had at one end an iron hook, which she would thrust into the tress of some woman in the opposite battalion. Her husband behind her, carrying a fence-stake in his hand, and flogging her on to battle. For<sup>3</sup> at that time it was the head of a woman, or her two breasts, which were taken as trophies.

<sup>1</sup> A derivative from *cumal*, 'a female slave, bondmaid.'

<sup>2</sup> Literally, 'out of.' Cf. *tumad na cainnell a geir 7 usca in carna*, 'to dip the candles into the grease and tallow of the fleshmeat,' Laws, II. 252, 2.

<sup>3</sup> The use of 'for' seems to imply that these trophies were to be put upon the stake which the man carried.

4<sup>1</sup>. Íar tíachtain do Adamnān hifecta nī gatar a forgall ar<sup>2</sup> domun degmnā, mād i ngnimaib fīraib *forsither*. Ar is [s]ruith māin māthair, maith māin māthair, māthair nōeb 7 epscop 7 fīriān, tuillem flatha nime, tustigud *talman*.

5<sup>3</sup>. Rochēs Adamnān mōr dec[h]roid dar uhar cend, a mnā, conidh lib leath for tighi 7 inadh for cathāiri isin leith ailiu, conidh sōer for cor 7 for comairchi ō ré Adamnāin, conid sí cēthāin *lāither* for nim 7 for talmain do mnāib Cāin Adamnāin.

6<sup>4</sup>. Ba sē tosuch in scēoil. Fechtus do Adamnān<sup>5</sup> 7 dia māthair oc imticht a<sup>6</sup> conairi oc Āth Drochait ind-Ūaithniu i nHōib Āedho Oduha i ndescert Breg. ‘Tair for ma muin, a māthair bóidh!’ or sē-seom. ‘Ní ragh,’ or sī-si. ‘Cedh ōn? cē dāisiu?’ or sē-sim. ‘Ar nach tu-su in mac gor,’ ar sī-se. ‘Cīa is goriu<sup>8</sup> indāu-su? Concbaim cris dar fochrus ocot imorchor as cech bailiu i n-alaile, ocat ergabāil fri fūal 7 fri ferad<sup>9</sup>. Nī fetur goiri dogneth mac dune día māthair nā dēnuim-si duit-si, acht mād h certán dognét<sup>10</sup> mnāi<sup>11</sup> lebor bael bach-laich oca. Húair nach drónaim<sup>12</sup> in certán sin, dogēntar crot binn lim-sa deit hicut erfitiud 7 iris findruine eisti.’ ‘Ced ed ōn,’ or issi, ‘ba maith do gori-se, acht noch a n-í sein mu gori-sæ, acht mnāu do hsōerad dam ar dāl, ar dūnuth, ar fegt, ar slōagath, ar guin, ar erlech, ar chumalach choire<sup>13</sup>.’

7. Sōethe<sup>14</sup> sī dono<sup>15</sup> for muin a meic, conusrála isin ārmuch. Ba sé tiget in áir innosrálā, co comrictis dā bond na mnā fri mēdhiu cinn<sup>16</sup> a sēthci. Ci<sup>17</sup> atconcatar in ārbach, nī acatar<sup>18</sup> nī bad bāidiu *nā*<sup>19</sup> bad trōighiu lēo indā cend na mnā<sup>20</sup> for indara burt<sup>21</sup> 7 colann for in burt n-ailiu<sup>22</sup> 7 a lenbān for a ciich inna collai<sup>23</sup>. Sruth<sup>24</sup> lomma for in dara n-ōil dō 7 sruth folæ forsinn ōil ailiu<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *B* places this paragraph after § 21. <sup>2</sup> for nō ar *B*. <sup>3</sup> *B* omits this paragraph. *But cf. the end of § 21.* <sup>4</sup> *Here begins cap. 2 in B.* <sup>5</sup> d'Adamnan *B*. <sup>6</sup> na *B*. <sup>7</sup> cid taisiu *B*. <sup>8</sup> as goriu *B*, gorium *R*. <sup>9</sup> ferath *B*. <sup>10</sup> dogniat *B*. <sup>11</sup> sic *B*, mnau *R*. <sup>12</sup> nat ronaim *B*. <sup>13</sup> cumhulaght coire *B*, chore *R*. <sup>14</sup> soete *B*. <sup>15</sup> dono *B*, dó *R*. <sup>16</sup> chinn *R*. <sup>17</sup> cid *B*. <sup>18</sup> facatar *B*. <sup>19</sup> no *B*. <sup>20</sup> na mnā om. *R*. <sup>21</sup> port *B*. <sup>22</sup> bput aile *B*. <sup>23</sup> inna collæ *B*, ina *R*. <sup>24</sup> srudh *R*. <sup>25</sup> naile *B*.

4. Now after the coming of Adamnan no <sup>gentle-</sup>woman is deprived of her testimony<sup>1</sup>, if it be bound in righteous deeds. For a mother is a venerable treasure, a mother is a goodly treasure, the mother of saints and bishops and righteous men, an increase of the Kingdom of Heaven, a propagation on earth.

5. Adamnan suffered much hardship for your sake, O women, so that ever since Adamnan's time one half of your house is yours, and there is a place for your chair in the other half; so that your contract and your safeguard are free; and the first law made in Heaven and on earth for women is Adamnan's Law.

6. This was the beginning of the story. Once Adamnan and his mother were wending their way by Ath Drochait<sup>2</sup> in Uaithne in Ui Aido Odba in the south of Bregia. 'Come upon my back, dear mother!' saith he. 'I shall not go,' saith she. 'What is this? what ails you?' saith he. 'Because you are not a dutiful son,' saith she. 'Who is more dutiful than I am? since I put a girdle over my breast, carrying you about from place to place, keeping you from dirt<sup>3</sup> and wet. I know of no duty which a son of man could do to his mother that I do not do for you, except the humming tune which women perform . . .<sup>4</sup>. Because I cannot perform that tune, I will have a sweet-sounding harp made for you, to play to you, with a strap of bronze out of it.' 'Even so,' she said. 'Your dutifulness were good; however, that is not the duty I desire, but that you should free women for me from encounter, from camping, from fighting, from hosting, from wounding, from slaying, from the bondage of the caldron.'

7. Then she went<sup>5</sup> upon her son's back until they chanced to come upon a battlefield. Such was the thickness of the slaughter into which they came that the soles of one woman would touch the neck of another. Though they beheld the battlefield, they saw nothing more touching or more pitiful than the head of a woman in one place and the body in another, and her little babe upon the breasts of the corpse, a stream of milk upon one of its cheeks, and a stream of blood upon the other.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. women are admitted as witnesses.

<sup>2</sup> 'The Ford of the Bridge,' now Drogheda. Cf. Book of Fenagh, p. 81, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Literally, 'urine.'

<sup>4</sup> Here the words *lebor bál bachlaich oca* are quite obscure to me.

<sup>5</sup> Literally, 'she turns.'



8. 'Is bōedh 7 is trógh lim-sa suut,' ar Ron[n]at<sup>1</sup> mǎthair Adamnāin, 'aní atchíu fot cosu-su, a chlērc[h]ocān! Ced nachamlēci<sup>2</sup> for lār, co tartur mo chígh dō? Acht is cīan mór hūadh ō da[c[h]ōdar<sup>3</sup> mo chíghi-si i ndīscā. Nī foigfide nī indtib. Ced nach promæ dūn do c[h]lērchecht frisin corp trōach ucut, dūs in taithbēoighfedh<sup>4</sup> in Coimdhíu erot<sup>5</sup>?' Is dē atá in senfocul<sup>6</sup>: cáin cech culēn fó śaidh<sup>7</sup>. Sōithis<sup>8</sup> Adamnān fri brēitheir a mǎthar, co rocōruigh<sup>9</sup> in cenn frisin mēdhíu, co tarut crois díā baghaill<sup>10</sup> dar ucht<sup>11</sup> na banscāili, co n-érucht in banscál súos.

9. 'Uch, a-mmo<sup>12</sup> Comdiu mōr na ndūlai!' or ī-si. 'Ced dobeir uch duit-siu?' ar Adhamnān. 'Mo claidbeth i n-ārmaigh 7 mo chor hi pīanaib iffirn. Nī fetur nech síu nō tall doneth bōidíu nō trōcuiríe immum aght Adamnān 7 Mairei hūag-ingen ic a<sup>13</sup> gresacht a hucht muintirei nime.'

10. Et iss í banscál rotathbēogedh<sup>14</sup> andsin fri brēthir nAdamnāin, Smírgat ingen Āedha Finn, ingen rígh Brēfne Connacht, ben rígh Lūaighne Temrach .i. mnā Ūa nĀedha Odhuha 7 descírt<sup>15</sup> Breg 7 Lūaighne Temrach, is íat condránatur immon āth, co nā deochaid anim i comatreb a colla díib, acht dorochratar<sup>16</sup> bond fri bond.

11. 'Maithi tra, a Adomnāin,' or sí 'hífechta is duit-siu doratath mnā íarthair domuin do hsōerath. Nī raga deog nā biad it bēolu-su co rohsōertar mnā duit.' 'Nī rubai in bēo cen biath,' ar Adomnān. 'Díā n-acet mo sūili-siu, rigfet mo lāmu ar a cent.' 'Sec[h] nī aicfet<sup>17</sup> do sūili-siu<sup>18</sup> nī roisit do<sup>19</sup> lāma.'

12<sup>21</sup>. Sōithi sī dono<sup>21</sup> iarsin Ronnat co Brugach mac Dedad<sup>22</sup>, co tuc slabraid<sup>23</sup> ūadh. Fochéird fó brágait a meic fo Drochuit Suilidhí<sup>24</sup> hi Ceníul Chonúild, bale a ndernath in cottach etir a mǎthre 7 a athre .i. itir Cenēl nĒndai 7 Lugdach .i. cippē díib nobrised<sup>25</sup> in cottach, a adnacu bēo hi talmain; commaid didíu<sup>26</sup> fri Adomnān<sup>27</sup> for nim

<sup>1</sup> Ronat B.

<sup>2</sup> nachimleici B.

<sup>3</sup> dochodar B.

<sup>4</sup> indathbeoighfedh B.

<sup>5</sup> erat B, erod R.

<sup>6</sup> senocalt B.

<sup>7</sup> saigh B.

<sup>8</sup> soitis B.

<sup>9</sup> choirigh B.

<sup>10</sup> bhachailt B.

<sup>11</sup> tar ucht B, dar a hucht R.

<sup>12</sup> ucha ammo B, a mo R.

<sup>13</sup> hico R.

<sup>14</sup> rotathbeoadh B.

<sup>15</sup> deiscirt B.

<sup>16</sup> torchratar B.

<sup>17</sup> acfet R.

<sup>18</sup> 7 add. R.

<sup>19</sup> sic B, de R.

<sup>20</sup> Here begins cap. 3 in B.

<sup>21</sup> soithsiu dono B, soithise dó R.

<sup>22</sup> Dedhad B, Dega R.

<sup>23</sup> slaurath B.

<sup>24</sup> Drochut Suilicci B.

<sup>25</sup> nobrisfedh

B, nobrisid R.

<sup>26</sup> comaidedh R, comaitiv B.

<sup>27</sup> dó add. R, an leg. dono?

8. 'That is a touching and a pitiful sight,' said Ronnat, the mother of Adamnan, 'what I see under thy feet, my good cleric<sup>1</sup>! Why dost thou not let me down upon the ground that I may give it my breast? However, it is long since my breasts have run dry! Nothing would be found in them. Why dost thou not prove thy clerkship for us upon yon wretched body, to see whether the Lord will resuscitate it for thee?' (Hence is the ancient saw: 'Beautiful is every pup under its dam.') At the word of his mother Adamnan turned aside, adjusted the head upon the neck, and made the sign of the cross with his staff across the breast of the woman. And the woman rose up.

9. 'Alas! O my great Lord of the elements!' said she. 'What makes you say alas?' said Adamnan. 'My being put to the sword on the battlefield and thrown into the torments of Hell. I know no one here or yonder who would do a kindness or show mercy to me save Adamnan, the Virgin Mary urging him thereto on behalf of the host of Heaven.'

10. And the woman who was there resuscitated at the word of Adamnan was Smirgat daughter of Aed Finn king of the Brefni of Connaught, wife of the king of the Luaigni of Tara. For the women of the Ui Aido Odba and of the south of Bregia and of the Luaigni of Tara had met around the ford, so that not a soul of them had come away abiding in its body, but they had fallen sole to sole.

11. 'Well now, Adamnan,' said she, 'to thee henceforward it is given to free the women of the western world. Neither drink nor food shall go into thy mouth until women have been freed by thee.' 'No living creature can be without food,' said Adamnan. 'If my eyes see it, I shall stretch out my hands for it.' 'But thine eyes shall *not* see and thine hands shall *not* reach it.'

12. Then Ronnat turned aside to Brugach son of Deda and brought a chain from him, which she put around her son's neck at the Bridge of the Swilly in Tirconnell, where the covenant had been made between his mother's and his father's kindred, even between the race of Enda and that of Lugaid<sup>2</sup>, to wit, that whoever of them would break the covenant should be buried alive in the earth, but he who would fulfil it was to dwell with Adamnan in Heaven. And she takes a stone

<sup>1</sup> *clérchocán*, a double diminutive of *clérrech*.

<sup>2</sup> Enda was the eponymous ancestor of Adamnan's mother, Lugaid that of his father.

dontí nodascomailfed<sup>1</sup>. *Ocus* fogeib<sup>2</sup> cloich diarba<sup>3</sup> lān a ddorn frisa mbenta<sup>4</sup> tene. Focherd il-leithōil a meic, conid furri búí sāsad dó etir biad 7 digh.

13. Iarsin tānec a mǵathair dia fis hi cind ocht<sup>5</sup> mīs, co n-accai a mulluch. ‘Mo maccān-sa suut’ ar sī-si ‘amail bīs ubull for tuind. Becc a greim hi talmain, nitā itge<sup>6</sup> i nim, sec[h] rolosc<sup>7</sup> sál, rocacsat fōilinn na farce ‘na chenn. Atchīu nī sōertha<sup>8</sup> mnā bēos de<sup>9</sup>.’ ‘Form Coimdid<sup>10</sup> as chōir a aithber<sup>11</sup>, a mǵathair bóidh,’ ar sē-som. ‘Ar Chrīst frit, aithirigh pēin dam!’

14<sup>12</sup>. Is ī pīan roathirriged leissi dó, 7 nī sochaide do mnāib dogēnad fria mac, a adnacu hī comrair clocha hī Rāith-Both Thīre<sup>13</sup> Conaill, contótar cruma bun a tengadh, co roimidh salchur a chinn dar a chlūasaib immach. Iarsin rusfuc hī Carric<sup>14</sup> in Culinn, co roattrib<sup>15</sup> ocht<sup>16</sup> mīs aile<sup>17</sup> and.

15<sup>18</sup>. Hi ciunn ceitheora bliadan, is and tāncatar aingil Dē de nim dia acallaim. Go tǵargbata (*sic*) Adomnān assa comrair clocha co Magh mBirra co coiccrīch Ūa Nēill 7 Fer Muman. ‘Érigh sūas hifechta as t’ [f]ochlach<sup>19</sup>,’ ar aingel<sup>20</sup> fri hAdamnān. ‘Nocho n-ērus<sup>21</sup>,’ ar Adamnān ‘co rosōertar<sup>22</sup> mnā dam.’ Is de sin ispert<sup>23</sup> in t-aingel<sup>24</sup>: ‘Omnia quae a Domino rogabis propter laborem tuum habebis.’

16. ‘Nī ba frim rē-se mā dognether<sup>25</sup>,’ ar Loingsech Bregbān. A Fanait cen[i]uil Conaill dō-side. ‘Olc ré i ndīgēntar<sup>26</sup> sūan fir for mnāib, mnā do bet[h]ugud, fir do o[i]rliuch<sup>27</sup>. Geibid claideb<sup>28</sup> don bodur<sup>29</sup> amlabor atbeir acht mnā do uhith i mbithdōire co bruinne brátha.’

17. Is ēat rīg<sup>30</sup> atraachtatar annside fri brēithir Loingsich do chlaidhbed Adamnān: Dōelguss mac Ōengusa meic Don[n]fraigh airdrí Muman, Ēlodach rī na nDēisi<sup>31</sup>, Cūcerca rī Osraighi<sup>32</sup>, Cellach

<sup>1</sup> notus comhuilfedh *B*, om. *R*.      <sup>2</sup> fogeib *B*.      <sup>3</sup> diarbo *B*.      <sup>4</sup> *sic B*, frisinbenta *R*.  
<sup>5</sup> *sic B*, oce *R*.      <sup>6</sup> itche *B*.      <sup>7</sup> roloiscc *B*.      <sup>8</sup> rosertha (*sic B*).      <sup>9</sup> mna do bheos *B*.  
<sup>10</sup> for in coimdid *B*.      <sup>11</sup> *sic B*, aithuhir *R*.      <sup>12</sup> *Here B begins cap. 4.*  
<sup>13</sup> tire *B*.      <sup>14</sup> carruic *B*, carrich *R*.      <sup>15</sup> co roaittrib *B*, corsattrib *R*.      <sup>16</sup> *sic B*, och *R*.  
<sup>17</sup> naile *B*.      <sup>18</sup> *Here B begins cap. 5.*      <sup>19</sup> as tochlach *B*.      <sup>20</sup> aingil *R*, aingil nime *B*.  
<sup>21</sup> nocha n-erusa *B*.      <sup>22</sup> rosoerthar *B*.      <sup>23</sup> as de atbert *B*.      <sup>24</sup> aingil *RB*.  
<sup>25</sup> dognetar *B*.      <sup>26</sup> a ndingentar *B*.      <sup>27</sup> d’oirlech *B*.      <sup>28</sup> cladhebh *B*, claidhib *R*.  
<sup>29</sup> bhodhur *B*, budar *R*.      <sup>30</sup> riogha *B*.      <sup>31</sup> nDeisith *B*.      <sup>32</sup> Osgeriv *B*.



which filled her hand. It was used for striking fire. She puts it into one of her son's cheeks, so that in it<sup>1</sup> he had his fill both of food and drink.

13. Then, at the end of eight months, his mother came to visit him, and she beheld the crown of his head. 'My dear son yonder,' said she, 'is like an apple upon a wave. Little is his hold on the earth, he has no prayer in Heaven<sup>2</sup>. But salt water has scorched him, the gulls of the sea have dropped filth upon his head. I see women have not yet been freed by him.' 'It is the Lord that ought to be blamed, dear mother!' said he. 'For Christ's sake, change my torture!'

14. This is the change of torture that she made for him, and not many women would do so to their sons: she buried him in a stone chest at Raphoe in Tirconnell, so that worms devoured the root of his tongue, so that the slime of his head broke forth through his ears. Thereafter she took him to Carric in Chulinn<sup>3</sup>, where he stayed another eight months.

15. At the end of four years God's angels came from Heaven to converse with him. And Adamnan was lifted out of his stone chest and taken to the plain of Birr at the confines of the Ui Neill and Munster. 'Arise now out of thy hiding-place,' said an angel<sup>4</sup> to Adamnan. 'I will not arise,' said Adamnan, 'until women are freed for me.' It is then the angel said: 'Omnia quae a Domino rogabis propter laborem tuum habebis.'

16. 'It shall not be in my time if it is done,' said Loingsech Bregban, a native of Fanait he was, of the race of Conall. 'An evil time when a man's sleep shall be murdered for women, that women should live, men should be slain. Put the deaf and dumb one to the sword, who asserts anything but that women shall be in everlasting bondage to the brink of Doom.'

17. These are the kings who then arose at the word of Loingsech to put Adamnan to the sword: Doelgus son of Oengus son of Dondfraech, high-king of Munster; Elodach, king of the Deisi; Cucherca, king of Ossory; Cellach the Red, king of Leinster; Irgalach grandson of

<sup>1</sup> Literally, 'upon it.'

<sup>2</sup> i. e. 'his prayer is not heard in Heaven,' or 'he has no spokesman in Heaven.'

<sup>3</sup> 'The Rock of the Holly.'

<sup>4</sup> 'of Heaven' *add. B.*

Derg rí Laigen, Irgalach ūa<sup>1</sup> Conuing rī Breg, Brugach mac Dedad<sup>2</sup>,  
 Fingin Ēoganach, di neoch robātar<sup>3</sup> and de rígaip[h] iarthair<sup>4</sup> domain.  
 Nī ruc Adomnān claideb les dochum in chathai, acht clocc na fferce  
 Adomnān .i. cluicīn mēsi Adomnān. Is<sup>5</sup> annsin atrubart<sup>6</sup> Adomnān  
 na brēathra sa :

18. 'Benaīm-si in cluiccīn sǣ i taob Letreg<sup>7</sup> ar ōenlus,  
 co nā hesboi Dōelgus daith in laith<sup>8</sup> forrabái<sup>9</sup> Ōengus.  
 Gēbut-sai ma psalmu aniū<sup>10</sup> i n-ūaim clocha<sup>11</sup>, nār esclū,  
 co nā esbe<sup>12</sup> Dǣlgus daith ind laith ebur co ndescdu<sup>13</sup> *descethn?*  
 Maldagt Dé for Ēlodach for flaith Feimin na nDési,  
 nā rab rí nā rīgdamnai gabus ūadh dar a ēssi.  
 A gilldai umail ailgein, a mic armaig na rīagla,  
 ben clucc ar Cellach Carmain co raib i talmain rīa  
 ciunn bliadna<sup>14</sup>.

19. 'Cellach Derg rí Laigen, acht in mac fail hi mbroinn<sup>15</sup> a mnā,  
 nī fáicfe a síl nach a sēimeth 7 cidh ēsidhe, bid meth ocus milled dia  
 chloinn, maní bet dom rēir-si. Cēin<sup>16</sup> bet oc ōgbāil<sup>17</sup> mo screplaigi  
 frim-sa nī bīa fortamlas nacha tūaithi aili foraib. Būaid n-ōcctigirinn (*sic*)  
 ūaidib<sup>18</sup> 7 būaid comruic 7 būaidh fogla. Gēbthair rīghi ūa Cellaig  
 hūaidib<sup>19</sup>.

20. 'A gilldai in gascid grāduich doroacht Mastin miathaich,  
 ben in cluiccīn<sup>20</sup> for Domnall, nā rup comlann a bliadain.

'Domnall mac Murchada<sup>21</sup> rī Ulath, acht in mac 7 in t-athair, nī fáicfe  
 a síl<sup>22</sup> nach a séimeth 7 ced ēad sidi, cudach berus<sup>23</sup> in dara n-āi, meth  
 berus araili. Gataim ardrīghi nUlad erru.

21. 'Ma cluicīn-siu, in fīrbredach, triasradibdad Irgalach,  
 atteoch in rī[g] fīrbrethach nī rap rī ō Irgalach.

<sup>1</sup> n B.      <sup>2</sup> Deghad B, Dedoin R.      <sup>3</sup> robai B.      <sup>4</sup> iartahir R.      <sup>5</sup> as B.  
<sup>6</sup> adubert B.      <sup>7</sup> Leitrech B.      <sup>8</sup> flaith B.      <sup>9</sup> forarabha B.      <sup>10</sup> aniv B, anu R.  
<sup>11</sup> i n-uaim chlochda, *written above* i ttæb tor B.      <sup>12</sup> hesba B.      <sup>13</sup> condesce B.      <sup>14</sup> rīa  
 mbliā B.      <sup>15</sup> sic B, broinn R.      <sup>16</sup> sic B, cen R.      <sup>17</sup> congbbail B.      <sup>18</sup> n-oigtigerna  
 foraib nō uaidhib B.      <sup>19</sup> gebtar righi B.      <sup>20</sup> sic B, cloc R.      <sup>21</sup> Murcadha B,  
 Murcathai R.      <sup>22</sup> síl B, ssil R.      <sup>23</sup> beus R, cudhach berus B.

Conaing, king of Bregia; Brugach son of Deda; Fingin Eoganach,—these were all that were there of the kings of the western world. Adamnan took no sword with him to the battle, but the Bell of Adamnan's Wrath, to wit, the little bell of Adamnan's altar-table. It is then Adamnan spoke these words:

18. 'I strike this little bell by the side of Lettir on purpose  
That dapper Doelgus may not drink the ale at which Oengus  
has been <sup>1</sup>.

I shall sing my psalms to-day in the stone cave, may it not be  
without fame!

Lest dapper Doelgus drink the ale which is drunk <sup>to the</sup> with dregs. *cf. Mc 139 a*  
God's curse on Elodach, the chief of Femen of the Deissi,  
Lest king or king's heir spring from him after him!

My humble, gentle attendant, thou armed son of the rule <sup>2</sup>,  
Strike a bell against Cellach of Carman, that he may be in the  
earth before a year's end.

19. 'Cellach the Red, king of Leinster, save the son that is in his  
wife's womb, shall leave no seed nor issue; and even he, there shall  
be decay and ruin to his offspring unless they be obedient to me. So  
long as they levy my groats for me, no other tribe shall prevail over  
them. The palm of gentlemen from them, and the palm of encounter  
and of spoil. The kingship of the Ui Chellaig shall descend from them.

20. 'O lad of the Church-armour <sup>3</sup>, having come to renowned Maistiú <sup>4</sup>,  
Strike the little bell against Domnall, that his year may not be  
full.

'Domnall, the son of Murchad, king of Ulster, save for the son  
and the father, shall not leave seed nor issue, and even so, a fall shall  
carry off one of them, decay shall carry off the other. I take the  
over-kingship of Ulster from them.

21. 'My little bell of true judgements by which Irgalach is made  
childless,

I beseech the King of true judgements that no king descend from  
Irgalach.

<sup>1</sup> i. e. 'that Doelgus may not enjoy the kingship of his father Oengus.' This play upon the words *flaith*, 'kingship,' and *flaith*, 'ale' (i. e. *laith*, with prothetic *f*), is common in Irish story-telling. See e. g. the tale called *Baile in Scáil*, *Zeitschrift für celt. Philologie* III, p. 460, § 9 ff.

<sup>2</sup> i. e. of the rule of the church or monastery.

<sup>3</sup> Literally, 'of the armour of orders' (*grád*).

<sup>4</sup> Now Mullaghmast.



Dīgal<sup>1</sup> Dé for Irgalach,      nā rup for Breg firt[h]reabach<sup>2</sup>,  
     nī raib clann nā cen[ē]lach<sup>3</sup>,      rub derechtach dībdathach<sup>4</sup>.  
 Clac Adomnāin fīrfertaich      mór de rīghaib rofāsaig<sup>5</sup>,  
     cech ōen fris'fera<sup>6</sup> catha      ōen aratha rosfāsaich.<sup>7</sup>

Sech rofāsaig lesu, rofāsaig rīgu o[c]<sup>7</sup> cosnam ban, oc a tabairt<sup>8</sup> dochum creitme<sup>9</sup>, conid sōer a cor 7 a comairchi ó ré Adamnāin costrasta, conid sí cēthāin lāithir for nimh 7 for talmain Cāin Adomnāin.

22. Nī rogaib Adomnān co tarta rātha 7 gremand fris im šō[i]re ban dó. It ēat ind so na rātha hī sein: grīan 7 éasca, dūle Dē arcenæ; Petar, Pōl, Andreas 7 reliqui apostoli; Grigoir, in dā Patraic, in dā Chīarān, in dā Chrōnān, na ceithri Fintāin, Moblu, Mobí, Momáedóc<sup>10</sup>, Munnu, Scothīne, Senán, Fēchīne, Dūilech, Cairnech, Cīanān<sup>11</sup>, Cartach, Uictor, epscop Cuiritán, Mōeldub epscop, Ionān mac Samāin, Foelán abb Imlecha Ibair, Cillīne abb Lothrai, Colmān mac Sechnusaig, Eochaid app Clūana Ūamai, dā Finnēn, mac Labartha Lāin.

23. Doratsat na rāthai sin tēora gāire mallacht for cech ferscāl<sup>12</sup> nomuirbfeth mnái a deis<sup>13</sup> nā clí ná lū nā tengaid<sup>14</sup>, comad hē a comarbpā trom 7 nenaid<sup>15</sup> 7 traghnaē. Daratsat na rāthæ cētna tēora gāire bendagtan for cech banscāl dogēnath ní ar muntir nAdamnān, cīamad meinic tīstais a minda. Ech cech raithe díā mindaib don comarba corice in fothracud hī Rāid-Both, acht as ō rīghnaib sein namā, co cumunc<sup>16</sup> cēcha mnā chēna.

24. Atrubratar mnā 7 dorairggerset<sup>17</sup> co tibritis<sup>18</sup> leth a treabthai do Adamnān ar a taphairt assin dōire 7 asin dochraitī hī raphātār.

<sup>1</sup> dīghail *B.*      <sup>2</sup> fīrbrethach *B.*      <sup>3</sup> geinelach *B.*      <sup>4</sup> delectet dībdadhach *B.* delectech dībdathag *R.*      <sup>5</sup> rofasaigh *B.* roasaig *R.*      <sup>6</sup> frisfer *B.*      <sup>7</sup> ag *B.*      <sup>8</sup> oga

ttabairt *B.*      <sup>9</sup> *Here follows in B* ar tiachtain do Adāmnān afehta &c. *See § 4 above.*

<sup>10</sup> Momedóc *R.*      <sup>11</sup> Ciaran *B.*      <sup>12</sup> fersgail *B.*      <sup>13</sup> des *B.*      <sup>14</sup> tengæ *B.*

<sup>15</sup> nenaigh *R.* irabha *add. B.*      <sup>16</sup> cumang *B.*      <sup>17</sup> dorairgettar mna *B.*

<sup>18</sup> ttiobartais *B.*

God's vengeance upon Irgalach that he be not on Bregia of true dwellings,  
 May there be neither offspring nor race, may he be forsaken childless!  
 The bell of truly-miraculous Adamnan has made desolate many kings,  
 Each one to whom it gives battle one thing awaits — it has made them desolate.'

While it has made desolate strongholds, it has made kings desolate in defence of women, in bringing them to belief, so that their contract and their safeguard are free from the time of Adamnan until now, so that the Law of Adamnan is the first law made (for women) in Heaven and upon earth<sup>1</sup>.

22. Adamnan did not rest satisfied<sup>2</sup> until securities and bonds were given to him for the emancipation of women. These are the securities: sun and moon, and all other elements of God; Peter, Paul, Andrew, and the other apostles; Gregory, the two Patricks, the two Ciarans, the two Cronans, the four Fintans, Mobiu, Mobi, Momædoc, Munnu, Scothine, Senan, Fechine, Duilech, Cairnech, Cíanan, Cartach, Victor, bishop Curitan, bishop Maeldub, Íonan son of Saman, Foilan abbot of Imlech Ibair, Cilline abbot of Lorrha, Colman son of Sechnusach, Eochaid abbot of Cluain Uama, the two Finnens, the son of Labraid Lan.

23. Those guarantors gave three shouts of malediction on every male who would kill a woman with his right hand or left, by a kick, or by his tongue, so that his heirs are elder and nettle and the corncrake<sup>3</sup>. The same guarantors gave three shouts of blessing on every female who would ~~do something for~~ the community of Adamnan, however often his reliquaries would come. A horse to be given every quarter to his reliquaries, (to be sent) to the coarb to the bath at Raphoe; but that is from queens only, with whatever every other woman is able to give.

24. Women have said and vowed that they would give one half of their household to Adamnan for having brought them out of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the end of § 5 above.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, 'took (accepted) nothing.' The same phrase in § 26 and in YBL. 130 b: *ní rogab acht bentech do dénum imne*.

<sup>3</sup> A common expression. Cf. *drissi is truim is traghnaidha | a n-oidridha co bráth*, 'their heirs till Doom shall be brambles and elders and corncrakes,' Laud 615, p. 199.

eve  
awa  
men

Nī rogaib Adomnān acht bec hūadib .i. inar find co cimais duib cecha caildigi aithrighi, screpald óir cecha bantōsigi, anart lēineth cech mnā ōcthigirn<sup>1</sup>, secht bargena cecha mnā dō[i]re, molt cech trēitfne, cetúan<sup>2</sup> nobërthai istaigh<sup>3</sup> cid duvb, cid find, do Dīa 7 do Adomnān.

25. Dī mnái leis cech lúain dar cend na<sup>4</sup> cāna bici 7 móire sein dochum nime. Tēora<sup>5</sup> ban cech mairt, ceithri mnā cech cētāine, cóic mnā cech<sup>6</sup> dardāin, secht mnā cech āine didine<sup>7</sup>, dī mnái déc cech<sup>8</sup> sathairn, cōeca ban dīa domnaigh. Comainm a māthar fair anūas<sup>9</sup>, cibē<sup>10</sup> do mnāib in<sup>11</sup> talman fora mbeith Ronnat<sup>12</sup>, 7 cach ben nothogh-fadh a reilec, rocindeth a mbreith<sup>13</sup> cen mesrugud dochum nime.

26. Nī rogaib Adomnān co tartta rātha 7 gremann<sup>14</sup> fria lāim im<sup>15</sup> comallad na cāna bici 7 móre sin ris. Ar is dó gebther<sup>16</sup> rāth ar drochfēichimain<sup>17</sup>, dia<sup>18</sup> híc don rāth, mani íca in fēchem: a macc ar aithech tighe, a ain[i]m ar<sup>19</sup> anmcara, cech dūil doadas<sup>20</sup> tadhas, cech sōerchland cinges<sup>21</sup> talmāin, cech cloc bentar do trādaib da aiterib 7 da<sup>22</sup> rāthuib fri lāim Dé 7 Adomnān im comaldad na cāna sin ris.

Is andsein aspert<sup>23</sup> Adomnān na briathra sa:

27. ‘Mani dernaid maith frim muintir for mnāib in chentair, methfaidh in clann dogēnid<sup>24</sup> nō atbēlait<sup>25</sup> co cintaib. Līnfaid cessacht for cuile, flaith nime<sup>26</sup> ní forbā, nī thésid<sup>27</sup> for cesacht nō<sup>28</sup> gūa do<sup>29</sup> Adamnān Iæ.

‘Adomnān ō ‘I<sup>30</sup> doforfoirfi, a mnā<sup>31</sup>,  
tapraid do bfor flaith<sup>32</sup> cech maith roborbē<sup>33</sup>.’

Adomnān Iæ<sup>34</sup> inmain cāch rolēgh libru Gāidel [n]gnáth.

if dleachtan iath  
ngáth AU

28. Iss ead in so forus Cāna Adomnān Iæ. Oc Birraib forurmed a forus sæ<sup>35</sup> for feraib Hērenn 7 Alban im bithchāin co brāth a forngairi

<sup>1</sup> oigticcerna B.

<sup>2</sup> cetúan R, 7 in cēt uan B.

<sup>3</sup> itigh B.

<sup>4</sup> sic B, a R.

<sup>5</sup> deora R.

<sup>6</sup> cecha B.

<sup>7</sup> didin B.

<sup>8</sup> cecha B.

<sup>9</sup> annuas R.

<sup>10</sup> cidbe R.

<sup>11</sup> an B.

<sup>12</sup> Ronat B.

<sup>13</sup> preith R.

<sup>14</sup> garman B.

<sup>15</sup> in R.

<sup>16</sup> gabtar B.

<sup>17</sup> drochfeichemh B.

<sup>18</sup> dina R.

<sup>19</sup> sic B, a R.

<sup>20</sup> doada R.

<sup>21</sup> cinnas B.

<sup>22</sup> om. B.

<sup>23</sup> atbert B.

<sup>24</sup> dogenaid B.

<sup>25</sup> adbelaid R.

<sup>26</sup> in flaith R.

<sup>27</sup> teis B.

<sup>28</sup> na B.

<sup>29</sup> da R.

<sup>30</sup> Iæ (sic!) B.

<sup>31</sup> sic B, doforfi mna R.

<sup>32</sup> dabu

bflaith B.

<sup>33</sup> roburbe B.

<sup>34</sup> o Iæ B.

<sup>35</sup> forusæ R, forussa B.



bondage and out of the slavery in which they had been. Adamnan accepted but a little from them, to wit, a white tunic with a black border from every penitent nun, a scruple of gold from every chieftain's wife, a linen cloth from every gentleman's wife, seven cakes from every unfree woman, a wether from every flock, the first lamb which was brought forth in a house, whether black or white, for God and for Adamnan.

25. In consideration of this small and large tribute, he to take two women to Heaven every Monday, three women every Tuesday, four women every Wednesday, five women every Thursday, seven women every Friday, twelve women every Saturday, fifty women on Sunday. In addition to this it was decided that every namesake of his mother's, whatever woman on earth would be called Ronnat, and every woman who would choose (for herself) his burial-place, should be taken to Heaven without judgement.

26. Adamnan did not rest satisfied till sureties and pledges were given into his hand for the fulfilment to him of this small and large tribute (for the reason why a guarantee is taken from a bad debtor is, in order that the guarantor may pay if the debtor do not pay): his son for a house-master, his soul for a confessor, every creature that moves about, every noble that walks the earth, every bell that is struck at the Hours are as hostages and pledges in the hand of God and Adamnan for the fulfilment of this Law.

It is then Adamnan spoke these words:

27. 'Unless ye women of this world do good to my community, the offspring ye will bear shall decay, or they shall die full of crimes. Scarcity shall fill your storehouses, the Kingdom of Heaven ye shall not obtain; ye shall not escape by niggardliness or falsehood from Adamnan of Hi.

'Adamnan of Hi will help you, O women!

Give unto your prince all the good things that are yours.'

Adamnan of Hi, beloved of all, has read the books of the <sup>for Ireland</sup> Gael<sup>1</sup>.

28. This is the enactment of the Law of Adamnan of Hi. At Birr this enactment was enjoined on the men of Ireland and Britain as

<sup>1</sup> This *leth-rann* seems out of place here.

a maithi, clērech 7 lāech, immo flaithi 7 a n-oldamnæ<sup>1</sup> 7 a n-epscofu 7  
a sūthiu<sup>2</sup> 7 a n-anmcharde<sup>3</sup>,

Im Fland Febla sūi-epscof Aird Mächæ +715

Diblainē

Elnai abb Imlechai Ibair

Cennfælad abb Bennchuir +705

Failbe Becc abb Clūana maic Nóis +713

Conodhar apb Lismóir (*Felbair?* +707)

Cilline mac Luibneāin apb Biruir<sup>4</sup>

Colmān mac Sechnusaigh abb Lothrai +710

Echuidh apb Clūanæ Hūamæ

Forandān Cille Dara +698

Sūadbar<sup>5</sup> Insi Demle

Diblēne ap Tīre Dā Glas

Mochonnui Dairi (*Da Chonna, etc.*) +706

Oisīne<sup>6</sup> mac Glais apb Clūanai Ferta Molūa +706

Maincīne Leith[glinne] +726

Moacru

Mobeoc<sup>7</sup> Aird

Murchu Balnai

Moling Lūachra<sup>8</sup> +696

Mend Maiche apb Fernai

Colcu mac Mōenaig ap Luscan +702

Ceti epscop +712 (*Cetti, Ceat ep. Jona*)

Curetān<sup>9</sup> epscop

Conamail mac Conāin epscop (*Canon AU +712*)

Colmān hōa Hoirce<sup>10</sup> apb Clūana hIraird +701

Āedh Slēibte epscop<sup>11</sup> +700

Colmān mac Findbair[r] *abt. diocese* +703

Cardide<sup>12</sup> Ruis Māir

Togialloic ūa Lūain<sup>13</sup>, an t-ecnaid

Ichtbricht epscop (*Sch (Egbert +729)*)

Feradach hōa Artur

Fælchū mac Máile-Rubai

<sup>1</sup> a n-ollam B. <sup>2</sup> suithi B. <sup>3</sup> anmcairde B, ancarde R. <sup>4</sup> Berair B.

<sup>5</sup> Oisini B, Hoisiniu R. <sup>7</sup> Mobeoc B, Mobecoc R. <sup>8</sup> Moluacar (*sic*) B.

<sup>10</sup> Hoicc B. <sup>11</sup> Aedh epscop Sleibte B. <sup>12</sup> Cairididhe B. <sup>13</sup> Luan R.

<sup>9</sup> Suabhar B.

<sup>9</sup> Cuirtan B.

a perpetual law by order of their nobles, clerics and laymen, both their chiefs and ollaves and bishops and sages and confessors, including

Fland Febla, the sage-bishop of Armagh

Diblain

Elnai, abbot of Imlech Ibair (i. e. Emly)

Cennfaelad, abbot of Bangor

\* Failbe Becc, abbot of Clonmacnois

*interesting - precedence of Iona  
Clonm. later had own C*

Conodar, abbot of Lismore

Cilline son of Luibnean, abbot of Birr

Colman son of Sechnusach, abbot of Lorrha

Eochuid, abbot of Cloyne

Forandan of Kildare

Suadbar of Inis Demle

Diblene, abbot of Tir-da-glas

Mochonnui of Derry

Oisine son of Glas, abbot of Clonfertmulloe

Manchine of Leithglinn

Moacru

Mobeoc of Ard

Murchu of Balla

Moling of Luachair

Mend Maiche, abbot of Ferns

Colcu son of Moenach, abbot of Lusk

Bishop Ceti

Bishop Curetan

Bishop Conamail son of Conan

Colman grandson of Orc, abbot of Clonard

Aed, bishop of Sletty

Colman son of Findbarr

Cardide of Ross Mor

Togialloc grandson of Luan, the Wise

Bishop Ichtbricht (i. e. Egbert)

Feradach grandson of Arthur

Faelchu son of Maelrubai

Fælān hō Clūain Ferta Brenaind

Dibc[h]ēine mac Fileth

Mosacra

Mælcoisnei mac Conaill <sup>1</sup>

Murchu macūi Machthēine <sup>2</sup>

Mældub epscop

Ioain ecna mac in Gobann

I[o]hain mac Samuél

Fælān ūa Silne +711

Loingsech mac Ōenghusa rī Ērenn (696-703)

Congalach mac Ferghusa rī Ceneōil Conaill

Fland Find mac Māilituile rī Ceneōil Eogain +700

Conc[h]abur mac Māilidūin rī Ceneōil Coirpri +706

Eterscēl mac Māilehumæ rī Muman

Cúdinaisc mac Cellaig <sup>3</sup> rī Irmuman

Cúcercæ rī Oseirghi +713

Conghal mac Suibnei rī inna nDéissiu +701

Eoganān mac Crundmāil rī Ūa Fidginti

Andelaith rī in Déissi tūaiscirt

Elodach <sup>4</sup> mac Dūnlaingi <sup>5</sup> rī Desmuman

Ailill mac Concenmāthair rī Muigi Fēne

Fiachrai Cossalach rī Cruithne

Béec Boirchi rī Ulad +718

Niel[l] mac Cernaigh rī Bregthuighi +701

Ceallach mac Gerthighi rī Diaballaigen <sup>6</sup> +715

Condalach mac Conaic rī Corcu Duibhne

Corpri mac Concoluimb rī Ūa Ceindselaig +709

Congal Ūa Mrachaidi <sup>7</sup>

Conall mac Doinennaig rī Ūa [Fidgente] +701

Cellach mac Ragallaig rī Connacht +705

Blúthach mac Fithchellaig rī Ūa Maine +712

Dūnchad rī Uá nAmalgaid <sup>7</sup> Ūa Fiachrach Murisg

Muirgios mac Māiledūin +698

Maicnā rī Arda ūa nEchach +702

<sup>1</sup> Dall R.    <sup>2</sup> Macteni B.    <sup>3</sup> Forcellaich B.    <sup>4</sup> Eoladhach R, Elodhach B.

laing B.    <sup>6</sup> rig Diaballaigen R.

<sup>7</sup> Mbrachaidiu R, Marcadha B.

<sup>5</sup> Dun-

R. Caril

ymir?

(+709?)

+717 A1 m. Fourhill

(Dūnlaing r. Ue nEchach C 202)

(nEchach Muman' AU +701) A1 +

(Fath A. +683)



Faelan of Clonfert-Brenainn  
 Dibchene son of Fili  
 Mosacra  
 Maelcoisni son of Conall  
 Murchu the descendant of Machtheine  
 Bishop Maeldub  
 Ioain of the wisdom, son of the Smith  
 Iohain son of Samuel  
 Faelan grandson of Silne  
 Loingsech son of Oengus, king of Ireland  
 Congalach son of Fergus, king of Tirconnell  
 Fland Find son of Maeltuile, king of Tyrone  
 Conchabur son of Maelduin, king of the Kinel Coirpri  
 Eterscel son of Maelhuma, king of Munster  
 Cudinaisc son of Cellach, king of ~~East~~ Munster *West*  
 Cucherca, king of Ossory  
 Congal son of Suibne, king of the Dessi  
 Eoganan son of Crundmal, king of the Ui Fidgenti  
 Andelaith, king of the northern Dessi  
 Elodach son of Dunlang, king of Desmond  
 Ailill son of Cu-cen-mathair, king of Mag Fene  
 Fiachra Cosalach, king of the Picts  
 Becc Boirchi, king of Ulster  
 Niall son of Cernach, king of Breg-mag  
 Cellach son of Gerthide, king of Diaballaigin  
 Condalach son of Conang, king of Corco Dubne  
 Corpri son of Cu-choluimb, king of the Ui Chennselaig  
 Congal grandson of Mrachaide  
 Conall son of Doinennach, king of the Ui [Fidgente]  
 Cellach son of Ragallach, king of Connaught  
 Dluthach son of Fidchellach, king of the Ui Maine  
 Dunchad king of the Ui Amalgaid and of the Ui Fiachrach Murisc  
 Muirges son of Maelduin  
 Macnia, king of Ard of the Ui Echach

Murchad Midi

Colmān mac Rechtabrat rī Fernae<sup>1</sup>

Mælfothartaigh mac Maolduib (*R. Airgialla + 697*)

Dub-diberg<sup>2</sup> (*? + 703*)

Mane<sup>3</sup> mac Nēill *+ 712*

Mælcāich mac Nōindenaig

Erthuile<sup>4</sup> ūa Crundmāil (*see AU 700*)

Aed<sup>5</sup> Odbae *+ 701*

Echuid<sup>6</sup> mac Dūnchadha rī na nDēisi

Aodh mac Dlūthaig rī Cúl *+ 718*

Flaithnīa mac Ferghaile

Fiannamuile ūa Dūnchatai<sup>7</sup> *+ 700 (d. Irish Dal Riata)*

Ferathach ūa Ciarāin (*+ 704?*)

Fethlimith<sup>8</sup> ūa Fergusæ *+ 701*

Fallomuín rī Ūa Tuirtri

Fergus Forchraidh Fócortach<sup>9</sup> *+ 703 [later d. Irish + 724]*

Garbān rī Mide<sup>10</sup> *+ 702*

Euchu Lemnæ rī Ūa Cremthain *+ 703*

Euchu ūa Domnaill rī [ ] *+ 697*

Conall Grant rī deiscirt Breg *+ 718*

Tūothal ūa Dūnchatha rī Ūa<sup>11</sup> Conaill Gabrae (*+ 703?*)

Toicthech<sup>12</sup> mac Cinnfælad rī Lugne *+ 734*

Bodbhchath rī Luighne *+ 704*

Irgalach ūa Conaig rī Ciannachtæ *+ 702*

Bruide mac Derilei rī Cruithintuāthi, (*here of the Scottish Picts!*) *+ 706*

et impidi fer nĒrenn uli etir laochu 7 clērchu.

29. Tocuitchetar tra huli læchaið 7 clēirchibh<sup>13</sup> ōgh cāna Adomnān do comalnad<sup>14</sup> co brādh. Atropartatar<sup>15</sup> lánéraic a mbanchró<sup>16</sup> do Adomnān 7 do cach comorbuo<sup>17</sup> bīas ina suidiu co brādh 7 ní gata<sup>18</sup> Adomnān fiachu ar flaith 7 eclais 7 fine día mbī dírf<sup>19</sup>.

30. Roggādhatar tra nōibecalsi Hērenn ule im Adomnān ōentaíd<sup>20</sup> inna dēachta athar 7 maic 7 spirto<sup>21</sup> nōib 7 muntire nime 7 nōebu

<sup>1</sup> Ferna B.

<sup>2</sup> Dibeirgec R.

<sup>3</sup> Manei R, Maine B.

<sup>4</sup> Ertuile R.

<sup>5</sup> sic B, Aed R.

<sup>6</sup> Aechuidh R, Eachuid B.

<sup>7</sup> Duncadha B.

<sup>8</sup> Feidhlim B.

<sup>9</sup> Fogartach B.

<sup>10</sup> Mide rī R, Garban Mide rī B.

<sup>11</sup> om. B.

<sup>12</sup> Toicech B.

<sup>13</sup> læcu 7 cleirciu B.

<sup>14</sup> chomhallnat B, comallad R.

<sup>15</sup> atrobhratar B.

<sup>16</sup> a mbanchara B.

<sup>17</sup> comarba B.

<sup>18</sup> cata B, catta R.

<sup>19</sup> diammbi dírf R.

<sup>20</sup> oentaigh B.

<sup>21</sup> spiorad B.



Murchad of Meath  
 Colman son of Rechtabra, king of Ferns  
 Maelfothartaig son of Maeldub  
 Dub-diberg  
 Mane son of Niall  
 Maelcaich son of Noindenach  
 Erthuile grandson of Crundmal  
 Aed of Odba  
 Echuid son of Dunchad, king of the Deisi  
 Aed son of Dluthach, king of the Fir Cul  
 Flaithnia son of Fergal  
 Fiannamail grandson of Dunchad  
 Feradach grandson of Ciaran  
 Fedlimid grandson of Fergus  
 Fallomain, king of the Ui Tuirtri  
 Fergus Forchraid Fogartach  
 Garban, king of Meath  
 Eochu Lemna, king of the Ui Cremthain  
 Eochu grandson of Domnall, king of the [     ]  
 Conall Grant, king of southern Bregia  
 Tuathal grandson of Dunchad, king of the Ui Chonaill Gabra  
 Toicthech son of Cennfaelad, king of Luigni  
 Bodbchath, king of Luigni  
 Irgalach grandson of Conang, king of Ciannacht  
 Bruide son of Derile, king of the Pict-folk,

and the intercession of all the men of Ireland, both laymen and clerics.

29. All then, both laymen and clerics, have sworn to fulfil the whole Law of Adamnan till Doom. They have offered up the full *eric* of their female stock to Adamnan, and to every coarb who will be in his seat till Doom, nor does Adamnan take away fines from chieftain and church and family to whom they are due.

30. Now, all the holy churches of Ireland together with Adamnan have besought the unity of the Godhead of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, and the heavenly hosts, and the saints of the

in talman, cach ōen comaldathar in cāin si etir saigid 7 timmarcain 7 comalnath 7 ēraicc, arim sírsægul somma 7 arop airmitnech fēith la Día 7 dōine, arim inducbude in-nim 7 hi talmain.

31. Rogādatar dano<sup>1</sup> nóibeccailsi Hērenn im Adhomnān Día co ngrādaiph nime 7 nóebhaib<sup>2</sup> talman, nach ōen loittfis Chāin nAdamnān itir læchu 7 clēirciu, nādasia 7 nādacomallnathar<sup>3</sup> a neort 7 a cumung<sup>4</sup> 7 nātimarr<sup>5</sup> for cāch itir flaith 7 eclais, arimm garit a hsægul co n-inniuth 7 dīgrād<sup>6</sup>, cen athgabāil nime nā talman úadhibh.

32. Rosuidigestar<sup>7</sup> Adomnān ordd n-escoine dōaib dano .i. psalm cach laithe co fichit laa<sup>8</sup> 7 apstal nō ūasalnōeb cach láí do attach leiss .i. 'Quare' 7 Petar, 'Domine quidh multiplicati' 7<sup>9</sup> Iohain<sup>10</sup>, 'Uerba mea' 7 Pilip, 'Domine deus meus' 7 Partalon, 'Dixit insipiens' 7 Tomas, 'Deus, deus meus respice' 7 Mathius<sup>11</sup>, 'Iudica me Domine innocentium'<sup>12</sup> 7 Iacob, 'Dixit iniustus' 7 Simon, 'Domine ne qm̄ (in furore B) 7 Tatheus, 'Dixi custodiam' 7 Madian, 'Deus deorum' 7 Marcus, 'Quidh gloriaris' 7 Lucas, 'Dixit insipiens' 7 Stefan, 'Exurgat Deus' 7 Ambrois, 'Saluum me' 7 Grigair Romæ, 'Deus uenerunt gentes' 7 Martan, 'Deus quis similis' 7 Senpōl, 'Deus laudem' 7 Giurgius<sup>13</sup>. 'Audite caeli quae loquar non nobis Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo,' 7 rl<sup>14</sup>.

33. Incipit sententia angeli Adomnano:—

Adomnanus post .xiii. annos hanc legem Deb rogauit 7 causa. Angelus sanctus Domini in nocte pentecosten ad eum 7 post annum in altero pentecosten 7 poculum<sup>15</sup> arripuit 7 percussit latus eius 7 dixit ei: Exi in Hiberniam 7 fac legem in ea ne mulieres ullo<sup>16</sup> more ab homine occidentur iugulatione uel quacunque morte uel ueneno uel in aqua uel in igne uel a quocunque peccode uel in fouea<sup>17</sup> uel canibus nisi in lectulo legitimo. Te oportet perficere legem in Hibernia Britaniaque propter matrem uniuscuiusque, quod mater<sup>18</sup> unumquemque

<sup>1</sup> rogadhatar tra B, roggatar R.    <sup>2</sup> an add. B.    <sup>3</sup> nadacomallathar B, nach comallnathar R.    <sup>4</sup> cumug R, cumhang B.    <sup>5</sup> natimmair B.    <sup>6</sup> diagradh R.    <sup>7</sup> rosuidhigstair B, rosuidhigthar R.    <sup>8</sup> co cenn fichett la B.    <sup>9</sup> om. R.    <sup>10</sup> Eoin B.    <sup>11</sup> Mathias B.    <sup>12</sup> om. B.    <sup>13</sup> &c. add. B.    <sup>14</sup> B omits this sentence, as well as the following section    <sup>15</sup> an leg. baculum ?    <sup>16</sup> uilo R.    <sup>17</sup> fonea R.    <sup>18</sup> matre R.

earth, that whoever fulfils this Law, both as to claim and levy and fulfilment and *eric*, may have a long and prosperous life, and may be honoured in the eyes of God and of men, may be exalted in Heaven and on earth.

31. The holy churches of Ireland, together with Adamnan, have also besought God with the orders of Heaven and the saints of the earth, that whoever shall break the Law of Adamnan, both laymen and clerics, whoever shall not claim it, and shall not fulfil it to the best of his power, and shall not levy it from every one, both chieftain and church,—his life may be short with suffering and dishonour, without any of their offspring attaining Heaven or earth.

32. Adamnan has also set down an order of malediction for them, to wit, a psalm for every day up to twenty days, and an apostle or a noble saint for every day to be invoked with it, to wit, 'Quare' and Peter, 'Domine quid multiplicati' and John, 'Verba mea' and Philip, 'Domine deus meus' and Bartholomew, 'Dixit insipiens' and Thomas, 'Deus, deus meus respice' and Matthew, 'Iudica me Domine innocentium'<sup>1</sup> and Jacob, 'Dixit iniustus' and Simon, 'Domine ne in furore' and Thaddeus, 'Dixi custodiam' and Matthias, 'Deus deorum' and Mark, 'Quid gloriaris' and Luke, 'Dixit insipiens' and Stephen, 'Exurgat deus' and Ambrose, 'Salvum me' and Gregory of Rome, 'Deus, uenerunt gentes' and Martin, 'Deus, quis similis' and old Paul, 'Deus laudem' and George. 'Audite caeli quae loquor,' 'Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo,' &c.<sup>2</sup>

33. Here begins the speech of the angel to Adamnan:—

After fourteen years Adamnan obtained this Law of God, and this is the cause. On Pentecost eve a holy angel of the Lord came to him, and again at Pentecost after a year, and seized a staff, and struck his side, and said to him: 'Go forth into Ireland, and make a law in it that women be not in any manner killed by men, through slaughter or any other death, either by poison, or in water, or in fire, or by any beast, or in a pit, or by dogs, but that they shall die in their lawful bed. Thou shalt establish a law in Ireland and Britain for the sake of the mother of each one, because a mother has borne each one, and

<sup>1</sup> Leg. Iudica, Domine, nocentes me (Ps. 34).

<sup>2</sup> See a poem on these maledictive psalms (*sailm escaine*) of Adamnan in *Hibernica Minora*,



portauerit 7 propter Mariam matrem Iesu Christi per quam totus est. Maria filium suum apud<sup>1</sup> Adomnanum circa hanc legem rogauit. Quicumque enim occiderit mulierem duplici poena damnetur, id est manus eius dextera 7 pes sinister ante mortem abscidetur 7 postea moritur 7 red[d]unt<sup>2</sup> fines<sup>3</sup> eius septem ancillas plenas 7 septimam penitentiae. Quod si fuerit pretium inpositum pro anima 7 pro circumcissione<sup>4</sup>, .xliii. anni penitentiae 7 .xliii. ancilla[e] red[d]entur; quod si aggmen autem fecerit, quintus uir usque tricentos ista ultione damnetur; quod si pausi<sup>5</sup>, diidentur in tres partes. Prima pars ex illis sorte mortificatur 7 circumcidetur manu 7 pede, altera reddet .xliii. ancillas plenas, tertia iactatur in peregrinationem trans mare sub regula regiminis duri, quod grande peccatum qui matrem 7 sororem matris Christi 7 matrem Christi occidit 7 collum<sup>6</sup> unumquemque portantem 7 omnem hominem uestientem contriuit. Qui autem feminam ab ipso die mortificauerit penitentiam secundum legem non agens non solum Deo 7 Adomnано in aeternum peribit [et] maledictus erit, sed maledicti erunt omnes qui audierint 7 non maledicent 7 non corripient eum secundum iudic[i]um huius legis.

Ista est sententia angeli Adomnано.

34. Iss ead in so forus cāna Adomnān<sup>7</sup> for Hērinn 7 Albain: sōire ecalsi Dé cona muintir 7 a fethlaib 7 a termnaib 7 a n-ule folud bēudu 7 marbdu 7 al-lāichib dligthechaib cona cētmunteraib tēchtaidib bīte fo réir Adomnāin 7 anamcharat tēchtaide ecnaid crāibthig. Fortā forus inna cána sǣ Adomnāin bithcāin for clērchu 7 banscāla 7 maccu encu co mbat<sup>8</sup> ingnīma fri guin duine 7 co mbat inbuithi<sup>9</sup> fri tūaith 7 confestar a n-immērgi<sup>10</sup>.

35. Nech gonus 7 marbus macclērech nō mac endacc a tēchtu cāna<sup>11</sup> Adomnāin, ocht cumala<sup>12</sup> cacha láma, ocht mbliadna<sup>13</sup> penda ind condice

<sup>1</sup> Ir. *la*, 'on behalf of.'

<sup>2</sup> *leg.* reddant.

<sup>3</sup> Ir. *fíni*, 'relatives.'

<sup>4</sup> Ir. *imdíbe*,

'amputation, cutting off.'

<sup>5</sup> *leg.* pauci.

<sup>6</sup> *leg.* colum.

<sup>7</sup> Adomnain B.

<sup>8</sup> *sic* B, mbad R.

<sup>9</sup> inbuite B.

<sup>10</sup> anaimērgi B, anaimēse R.

<sup>11</sup> canu R.

<sup>12</sup> *sic* B, om. R.

<sup>13</sup> *secht* mbliadna B.



for the sake of Mary mother of Jesus Christ, through whom all are. Mary besought her Son on behalf of Adamnan about this Law. For whoever slays a woman shall be condemned to a twofold punishment, that is, his right hand and his left foot shall be cut off before death, and then he shall die, and his kindred shall pay seven full *cumals*<sup>1</sup>, and one-seventh part of the penance. If, instead of life and amputation, a fine has been imposed, the penance is fourteen years, and fourteen *cumals* shall be paid. But if a host has done it, every fifth man up to three hundred shall be condemned to that punishment; if few, they shall be divided into three parts. The first part of them shall be put to death by lot, hand and foot having first been cut off; the second part shall pay fourteen full *cumals*; the third shall be cast into exile beyond the sea, under the rule of hard regimen; for the sin is great when any one slays the mother and the sister of Christ's mother and the mother of Christ, and her who carries the spindle and who clothes every one. But he who from this day forward shall put a woman to death and does not do penance according to the Law, shall not only perish in eternity, and be cursed for God and Adamnan, but all shall be cursed that have heard it and do not curse him, and do not chastise him according to the judgement of this Law.'

This is the speech of the angel to Adamnan.

34. This is the enactment of Adamnan's Law in Ireland and Britain: exemption of the Church of God with her people<sup>2</sup> and her emblems and her sanctuaries and all her property, live and dead, and her law-abiding laymen with their lawful wives who are obedient to Adamnan and to a lawful, wise and pious confessor. The enactment of this Law of Adamnan is a perpetual law on behalf of clerics and women and innocent children until they are capable of slaying a man, and until they take their place in the tribe, and their (first) expedition is known.

35. Whoever wounds or slays a young clerical student or an innocent child under the ordinance of Adamnan's Law, eight *cumals* for

<sup>1</sup> ancillas plenas, Ir. *lán-chumala*. A *cumal*, or 'bondmaid,' represented the value of three milch-cows.

<sup>2</sup> i. e. the communities of monks.

trí chēt chumal 7 bliadain penda ind<sup>1</sup> cach óin<sup>2</sup> ō trīb cétaib<sup>3</sup> co mīle<sup>4</sup> nō díarim 7 is cummæ fíach nech fofich<sup>5</sup> 7 aridaccai 7 nachidanaig a neort<sup>6</sup>. Mād étged nō anfes, lethfíach ind 7 arracuir asn-étged 7 asn-anfes<sup>7</sup>.

36. Fortā forus na cāna sa : ōghdíriu do cech eclais bís i cāinbéscnu ; leithdíre dī<sup>8</sup> ina termund sechtar faithchi<sup>9</sup> ; ōghdíri dī de cech grād etir guin 7 gait<sup>10</sup> 7 forloscud<sup>11</sup> ; leithdíri da blāi-neimthib<sup>12</sup> ; leithdíre a<sup>13</sup> foltmaissi clērech namā cen guin, cen gait. Is ōghdíri<sup>14</sup> nach eclais fria sārughud a fethaltæ, cip port i ndēntur.

37. It é brithimain cānæ Adomnān i cach eclais 7 i cach thūaith .i. clērich dongoat munter Adomnān 7 dia n-aithnet forus a cānae.

38. It é gella na cānu sæ : triān gild di humui nō argit<sup>15</sup> fo mes cacha crīchiu a tōthucht<sup>16</sup> cacha cainggne. Gell ar trisi, breth ar cōicthi<sup>17</sup>, híc ar dechmaid di caingnib olchenæ. Gell a ochtaib, breth ar trisi<sup>18</sup>, híc ar cōicthi<sup>19</sup> isin caingin<sup>20</sup> se.

39. Forthā<sup>21</sup> forus na cāna as<sup>22</sup> meise cacha saigte[c]he<sup>23</sup> for aitari æter grādu tūathi 7 grādu ecalse i crīchaib immedōn 7 i crīchaib<sup>24</sup> dīanechtair di fīachaib beccaiph 7 mōraibh ar rēir Adomnān nō a muintire<sup>25</sup>. Apad 7 forais, 7 nī díbdai Cāin Adomnāin nach a muntire.

40. Forthā forus na cānæ : dia ngontar maic annaic nō clēirich, is dia n-ūamaib adnacail tīaguit a fēich<sup>26</sup> 7 a fēich<sup>27</sup> erradais dia faithib a finib.

41. Fortā a forus na cānæ asn-eirrihi<sup>28</sup> lānfīachaib do Adomnān

<sup>1</sup> pendanain *R.*    <sup>2</sup> cin *RB.*    <sup>3</sup> cedaibh *B, om. R.*    <sup>4</sup> commile *B.*    <sup>5</sup> 7 is cuma fofich *B.*    <sup>6</sup> noert *RB.*    <sup>7</sup> isnetget anfes *B.*    <sup>8</sup> cainbes leth di *B.*  
<sup>9</sup> faithdi *R, faiti B.*    <sup>10</sup> goit *B, gaid R.*    <sup>11</sup> forloscadh *B, forlascuch R.*  
<sup>12</sup> blanimtibh *B.*    <sup>13</sup> ar *B.*    <sup>14</sup> Here follows in *B*: cana Adomnain i cech tuaith 7 i ccech eclais .i. cleirech dongoat munter Adhomhnan 7 dianithnet (*sic*) forus cana *S-c.*, as in § 37.    <sup>15</sup> d'umhu no d'argat *B.*    <sup>16</sup> toact *B.*    <sup>17</sup> bret ar coicthi *B, bert a docthi R.*  
<sup>18</sup> bret ar treisiv *B.*    <sup>19</sup> coicieti *B, coicthi R.*    <sup>20</sup> caicin *RB.*    <sup>21</sup> forta *B.*  
<sup>22</sup> ar *B.*    <sup>23</sup> saigtighe *B.*    <sup>24</sup> a ccriochaib *B, in cricha R.*    <sup>25</sup> Adomnan nō a muintire *om. R.*    <sup>26</sup> feiach *R.*    <sup>27</sup> fecich *R.*    <sup>28</sup> asneirrich *RB.*

it for every hand (engaged), with eight years of penance, up to three hundred *cumals*; and one year of penance for it for each one from three hundred to one thousand or an indefinite number; and it is the same fine for him who commits the deed and for him who sees it and does not save to the best of his ability. If <sup>it be</sup> ~~there is~~ neglect or ignorance, half the fine for it, and . . . .<sup>1</sup> that it is ~~neglect~~ and that it is ignorance.

36. A further enactment of this Law: full due to every Church which is in good behaviour; half-due to her for her *termon* outside the green; full due to her for every degree<sup>2</sup>, both for wounding and theft and burning; half-due for her sanctuaries; half-due for merely touching the hair (?) of clerics without wounding or theft. It is full due to every church for violating her ~~emblems~~ <sup>wherever</sup> wherever it is done.

37. These are the judges of Adamnan's Law in every church and in every tribe, to wit, the clerics whom the community of Adamnan chooses and to whom they commit the enactment of the Law.

38. These are the pledges of this Law: one-third of the pledge in bronze or silver, according to the estimation of every territory, out of the property of every case. The pledge (~~to be redeemed~~) on the third day, judgement on the fifth day, payment on the tenth in all other cases; in this case the pledge (~~is to be redeemed~~) at once (?), judgement on the third day, payment on the fifth.

39. A further enactment of the Law, that in every suit a hostage is to be adjudged (?) both for the ranks of the laity and those of the church, within territories inside and outside, for small and large dues, in obedience to Adamnan or his communities. There is legal notice and impounding, and the Law of Adamnan or his communities shall not become extinct.

40. A further enactment of the Law: If innocent children or clerics are slain, it is to their tombs of burial their dues come, and their *urradas*-dues to their chiefs within their kindred.

41. A further enactment of the Law, that payment in full fines is to

<sup>1</sup> *arracuir* is obscure to me. See the notes.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. the orders of the Church.



na banscāl romarbthar, acht ropbé cuit duine occa *nō* cethra *nō* con *nō* teined *nō* claidh *nō* cumtaigh, ar is eirri<sup>1</sup>thi cach ndēnte hi Cāin itir claid 7 cuithe 7 drochat 7 tenlach 7 cēim 7 lindi<sup>2</sup> 7 āthi<sup>3</sup> 7 cach ingreim<sup>4</sup> olchena, acht ~~at~~roilli<sup>5</sup> banscál dé. Acht fācabar<sup>6</sup> triān fri herchomēt, Mād escond, atbēla ann<sup>7</sup>, In dā triān aile, A<sup>8</sup> triān intí asa dí<sup>r</sup>.

42. Cip aided admbéla banscāl, acht chuit Dé *nō* choiblighe díles thēchtaide, asrenar lānfiachaib<sup>9</sup> do Adhomnán etir guin 7 bádudh 7 loscud 7 neim 7 chombach 7 chechrad 7 athcumba *ō* bīastaib cenntaib<sup>10</sup> 7 mucaib 7 chethruiph. Mād cētchin don<sup>11</sup>a foluth<sup>11</sup> *nō* dona muccaib *nō* dona conaiph, a mmabath fócétōir<sup>12</sup> 7 lethfiach láma<sup>13</sup> duine ind; mani cētchin, asrenar<sup>14</sup> lānfiachaib<sup>15</sup>.

43. Ní dleghar tra frithfolá hi Cāin Adomnāin ná comard cinath, acht asren cāch a chinta ar a láim. Na foachta fo[f]echar i Cāin Adomnān, dligith munter Adomnāin<sup>16</sup> forbach<sup>17</sup> dé cenmothá banscāla, cit<sup>18</sup> maicc ennaig<sup>19</sup>, cit<sup>20</sup> cléirig *nō* do neoch dian<sup>21</sup> timnat<sup>21</sup> .i. cumal forbaich do muntir Iae<sup>22</sup> airm i n-ícatar<sup>23</sup> secht cumala 7 lethchumal dí leth secht cumal. Sē seúit for trīchoit<sup>24</sup> sét, trī seúit for cōic<sup>25</sup> sétaib.

44. Ochtmath caich<sup>26</sup> bicc 7 caich<sup>27</sup> móir do muntir Adomnán di<sup>28</sup> guin clērech 7 mac n-ennac<sup>29</sup>. Māth bēoguin rogonæ nech banscál *nō* clērech *nō* mac n-ennac<sup>30</sup>, leth secht cumal hūad, cōic seúit déac<sup>31</sup> for fine *nō* anfine<sup>32</sup> dia comláithriu. Trī seúit caich<sup>33</sup> bānbēime, cōic seúit cach teilcthi folæ, secht seúit cach inindrigh<sup>34</sup>, cumal cach inuithir 7 fiach legæ cenmothā sin. Is for leithfiachu<sup>35</sup> gonæ duine dotēitt, mād mō sin<sup>36</sup>. Mādh bēim co mbois *nō* de durn, unga<sup>37</sup> argait ind. Māth glas *nō* derg *nō* att, sē scripuil for unga<sup>38</sup> ind. Foltgabál<sup>39</sup> ban, cōic muilt ind. Máth banaugra co sáirtairbirt, trī muilt ind<sup>40</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> errithi *B*, eirrithe *R*.    <sup>2</sup> linne *B*.    <sup>3</sup> ata *B*.    <sup>4</sup> athi cachi gín *R*.    <sup>5</sup> atroible *RB*.  
<sup>6</sup> fogabar *B*.    <sup>7</sup> om. *B*.    <sup>8</sup> in *B*.    <sup>9</sup> lanfiacha *B*.    <sup>10</sup> cinntaib *RB*.    <sup>11</sup> math  
cech cin dona foluth *R*, mad eccin dono a folath *B*.    <sup>12</sup> ócétōir *R*.    <sup>13</sup> lam *B*.  
<sup>14</sup> manice chin asrenair *R*, mani cecin asrenar *B*.    <sup>15</sup> lanfiacha *B*.    <sup>16</sup> Adomnāin *B*,  
adnain *R*.    <sup>17</sup> forbac *B*, forcach *R*.    <sup>18</sup> sic *B*, cith *R*.    <sup>19</sup> ennaic *B*.    <sup>20</sup> cidh *B*.  
<sup>21</sup> ima *R*.    <sup>22</sup> sic *B*, a *R*.    <sup>23</sup> inicar *B*.    <sup>24</sup> tricat *B*.    <sup>25</sup> coit *R*.    <sup>26</sup> cac *B*.  
<sup>27</sup> gac *B*.    <sup>28</sup> do *B*.    <sup>29</sup> n-endaic *R*.    <sup>30</sup> ennac *B*.    <sup>31</sup> sic *B*, dec *R*.    <sup>32</sup> anfiniv *B*.  
<sup>33</sup> cech *B*.    <sup>34</sup> inindrigh *R*.    <sup>35</sup> lethfiach *B*.    <sup>36</sup> mad mo sin om. *B*.    <sup>37</sup> ungai *R*,  
ungga *B*.    <sup>38</sup> for unga om. *R*.    <sup>39</sup> foltgala *R*, foltgabail *B*.    <sup>40</sup> *B*. omits this sentence.



be made to Adamnan for every woman that has been slain, whether a man has a share in it, or cattle or a hound or fire or a ditch or a building, —for everything that is made is liable in the Law, both ditch and pit and bridge and fire-place and (door-)step and pools and kilns, and every other danger<sup>1</sup>, except the woman <sup>due of</sup>deserves it. But one-third is left to be kept. If it is a witless person, the other two-thirds shall die. The one-third is his who has the right to it.

42. Whatever violent death a woman dies, except it be (by) the hand of God, or (in consequence of) rightful lawful cohabitation, it is paid in full fines to Adamnan, both slaying and drowning and burning and poison and breaking and perishing in a quagmire and death by tame beasts and pigs and cattle. If, however, it is a first crime . . .<sup>2</sup> or on the part\* of the pigs or hounds, they shall be killed at once, and half the (due) of a human hand for it; if it is not a first crime, full due is paid.

43. There shall be no <sup>counterclaim</sup> cross-case or balancing of guilt in Adamnan's Law, but each one pays for his crimes for his own hand. Every trespass which is committed in Adamnan's Law, the communities of Adamnan are entitled to a . . .<sup>3</sup> of it, apart from women, whether it be innocents, or clerics, or any one to whom they commit it, viz. <sup>set-off</sup>a <sup>verum</sup>cūmal forbaich to the community of Hi where seven cūmals are paid, and half a cūmal from seven half-cūmals. Six sēts on thirty sēts, three sēts on five sēts.

44. One-eighth of everything small and great to the community of Adamnan from the slaying of clerics or innocent children. If it be a life-wound any one inflicts on a woman or a cleric or an innocent, seven half-cūmals are due from him, fifteen sēts upon the nearest and remoter kindred as being accomplices. Three sēts for every white blow<sup>4</sup>, five sēts for every drawing of blood, seven sēts for every wound requiring a tent, a cūmal for every confinement to bed, and payment of the physician besides. If it be more than that, it goes upon half-dues for killing a person. If it is a blow with the palm of the hand or with the fist, an ounce of silver (is the fine) for it. If there be a green or red mark, or a swelling, an ounce and six scruples for it. For seizing women by the hair, five wethers. If there is a fight among women with outrage (?), three wethers.

<sup>1</sup> Literally 'persecution.'    <sup>2</sup> a folath (or foluth) is obscure to me.    <sup>3</sup> I do not know the meaning of forbach (verb-noun of for-bongim).    <sup>4</sup> i.e. a blow that neither draws blood nor causes discolouring.

45. It cobfiachaigh tra fir 7 mnā hi cachā fiachaib<sup>1</sup> beccaib 7 móraib di sund co banugrai ingi etirbás. Ar is ed bás dlegair do banscail<sup>2</sup> dia<sup>3</sup> marbad fir nō mnā, nō di thabairt neime dia n-abbalar, nō di loscad, nō di fochlaid<sup>4</sup> ecalse .i. cor in-nói oin[s]lūaisti for murchreth<sup>5</sup> hi fairrge do techt le<sup>6</sup> gæth di thír<sup>7</sup>. Long menathcha<sup>8</sup> do breith lee. La Día brithimnacht furi ísin<sup>9</sup>.

46. Māt<sup>10</sup> epthai dīa n-apallar dabera nech do alailiu, fēich<sup>11</sup> dune-tāiti<sup>12</sup> ind. Dubchrecha 7 chnāimchrói foreccattar hi ceth[a]rardi, mani ruca in ceth[a]rarta docom neich sainriud, datongat<sup>13</sup> fo altbu anme nandfetatar for neoch 7 atrenat fadesin. Mā berait dōig<sup>14</sup> dochom neich co tūarasndul, is ēside<sup>15</sup> bus fiachach. Mād etir dīs nō lín bus lia beth in dōchus<sup>16</sup>, scrībtar a n-anman<sup>17</sup> i ndulne<sup>18</sup>, dober[r]<sup>19</sup> cach duilend<sup>20</sup> inna ecrus im chrand 7 dobertar na crunna i cailech for altōir. Intī fora tuit<sup>21</sup> cran[n]char, iss é is fiachach.

47. Mani eirre<sup>22</sup> bidbaid sāraigetar<sup>23</sup> cāin, asren fine al-lānfiachu<sup>24</sup> iar mēitt a chinad 7 dober[r] a ndilsī 7 a n-indarbu iarsin co cend rechtghī. Leth<sup>25</sup> secht cumal dia comlāithriu for cach deirbfine 7 anpfine iarsin. Mād lesugud 7 dītiu 7 chomarlēcad, is bás tar[a] ēissi, acht aní<sup>26</sup> etirbī fiachu etirbī comlāidre.

48. Fortā *forus* na cānæ: biat *rechtaire* Cāna Adomnān lind bīs di sōerblathad<sup>27</sup> a<sup>28</sup> muintiri .i. cōicfer do aitare 7 biathad cach óin tobó fiachu in[n]a cānæ fo maith<sup>28</sup> cāich etir flaith 7<sup>29</sup> eclais<sup>30</sup> 7 tūaith. Cumal fri toichniuth<sup>31</sup> cach æ intan dombongatar<sup>32</sup> fēich 7 cintaigh

<sup>1</sup> mna 7 iccaca fiachaib B, mna hicacha fiachaib R.

<sup>2</sup> no add. BR.

<sup>3</sup> dia a R.

<sup>4</sup> nō fochlaic B.

<sup>5</sup> murrec B. R has a marginal gloss on murchreth, of which I can only make out the following .i. isi . . . muir . . . inai . . . muir . . . form . . . gel.

<sup>6</sup> techt lee R.

<sup>7</sup> le geth aitar (sic) B.

<sup>8</sup> mionathaig B.

<sup>9</sup> innsin B.

<sup>10</sup> madh B.

<sup>11</sup> om. B.

<sup>12</sup> duinetaiti B, dunetathi R.

<sup>13</sup> sic B, dathogat R.

<sup>14</sup> sic B, doag R.

<sup>15</sup> is

<sup>16</sup> eiside B, is beside R.

<sup>17</sup> docus B.

<sup>18</sup> sgríbtar a n-anmann B, annaman R.

<sup>19</sup> ndvillne B, i ndulind nō (dul)ne R.

<sup>20</sup> dobeir B.

<sup>21</sup> dvillend B.

<sup>22</sup> ttuit B

<sup>23</sup> mani eirsiv B, maniterse R (t added later).

<sup>24</sup> saraighter B.

<sup>25</sup> feine lanfiaca B.

<sup>26</sup> dober—leth om. B.

<sup>27</sup> amail B.

<sup>28</sup> sic B, 7 R.

<sup>29</sup> miaith R, the first i added

later, an leg. miad?

<sup>30</sup> etir B.

<sup>31</sup> ecal B.

<sup>32</sup> toitn B.

<sup>33</sup> dombongathar B.



45. Men and women are equally liable for large and small dues from this on to (any) fights of women, except outright death. For a woman deserves death for killing a man or a woman, or for giving poison whereof death ensues, or for burning, or for digging under a church<sup>1</sup>, that is to say, she is to be put into a boat of one paddle as a sea-waif (?) upon the ocean to go with the wind from land. A vessel of meal and water to be given with her. Judgement upon her as God deems fit.

46. If it be charms from which death ensues that any one give to another, the fines of murder followed by concealment of the corpse (are to be paid) for it. Secret plunderings and . . . .<sup>2</sup> which are traced (?) *metabk* to (one of) the four nearest lands, unless these four nearest lands can lay them on any one particularly, they swear by the . . .<sup>3</sup> of their soul that they do not know to lay it upon any one and pay it themselves. If they suspect any one and prove it, it is he who shall be liable. If the probability lie between two or a greater number, let their names be written upon leaves; each leaf is arranged around a lot, and the lots are put into a chalice upon the altar. He on whom the lot falls is liable.

47. If offenders who violate the Law do not pay, their kindred pay full fines according to the greatness of his crime, and after that (the offender) becomes forfeited, and is banished until the end of the law. One-half of seven *cumals* for accompliceship upon every direct and indirect kindred afterwards. If there be assistance and shelter and connivance, it is death for it; but such as the fine (of the principals) was such shall be that of the accomplices.

48. A further enactment of the Law: *the feeding of the* they shall feed the stewards of Adamnan's Law, whatever their number, with the *people* good food<sup>4</sup> *and* of their people, viz. five men *as guarantors*, and the feeding of every one who shall levy the dues of the Law shall be according to the *Tank* wealth of every one, both chieftain and church and people. A *cumal* for leaving any one of them fasting, while fines are being levied, and *offenders with regard* *it is the guilty parties*

<sup>1</sup> viz. to look for treasure.

<sup>2</sup> *endim-chró?* *perhaps brandra cp. "How bones & blood st"*

<sup>3</sup> *alibu?* An leg. *apthu* 'perdition'?

<sup>4</sup> Or, perhaps, 'the food of a freeman.'

biathatæ<sup>1</sup> 7 folongat comnaidm fiach<sup>M</sup> mani biathat<sup>2</sup> side. Dī chumail dōaib do cintachaib.

49. Iss ī tra sōeri cach<sup>3</sup> aitere dothēt<sup>4</sup> fri<sup>(N)</sup>tobach (*sic*) na cāna sæ .i. nī téit cin fine forru<sup>5</sup> céine<sup>6</sup> folōsat aideri 7 beta tuinidig 7 nādmbat ēlathaig, acht a cin fadeisin<sup>7</sup> nō cin clainde 7 a compert<sup>8</sup> 7 a n-amus<sup>9</sup>.

50. Mād forc[h]or ingine, leth secht ccumal inn. Mādh lāmh fria nō 'na crios, deich n-unga ind. Mād lām fo ētach dia meablucudh, trī uinge for secht cumal[a] ind. Mā beith ainim a cinn nō a sūil nō i n-aghaid nō i cclūais nō i srōin nō i bfiacail nō i ttengaid 7 i ccois nō il-lāimh, it secht cumala ind. Mād ainimh i curp olcena, as leth secht cumal ind. Mād rīacad ētaic[h], secht n-unga for cumhail ind.

51. Mād imdherccad dagmnā im drūis nō im sēna a clainne, it secht cumhala ind conici airig dēsa anall. Let[h] secht cumal, mād ben airech dēsa. Ō sin anund go muirig it secht n-unga inn.

52. Mād airbert bangāl i n-orgain nō cuire nō feachta, secht cumhal[a] cac[h]a lāma co mórseiser 7 cin ōinfir ō sin anon[n]. Mād rotoirched bangāl a ttāidhe cin cor, cin dīlsi, cen ellam, cin ursnaidm, lānfīach de. Nac[h] dilim fil fon lāmt[h]orad mēit loighet, fil fon roid<sup>10</sup> 7 glaisīne 7 sep. Mād rūam in bruit, dirim bruit de.

53. Teōra aitere cac[h]a primegalsa fri Cāin Adomnāin .i. secnap 7 coic 7 fertiges 7 aitere cāna deirbfine fo Ēirinn uile 7 dā eitiri cāna ardflat[h]a 7 gīalla gabhāla dia dīl, dia mbē tūarasndal bangāl<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> biata B.    <sup>2</sup> biat B.    <sup>3</sup> cachā R.    <sup>4</sup> doteid B.    <sup>5</sup> fuirri B.    <sup>6</sup> ceni B.  
<sup>7</sup> fadisin R.    <sup>8</sup> compert B, comirpt (*sic*) R.    <sup>9</sup> Here R. breaks off.    <sup>10</sup> roig MS.

<sup>11</sup> Then follows:—Asna duilleocaib doscrioph Cumumhan mac Tuatail i Clerig, doscriobhad an beccan so. a tigh na mbrathar ag Drobaois. 31. do marta. 1627.—End of fo. 82<sup>b</sup>.



who (must) feed (= or) those who <sup>have</sup> <sup>liability</sup> joint security for their debts, to feeding<sup>1</sup>, and they sustain a joint contract of debts (unless they <sup>i.e. the</sup> feed them. Two ~~cumals~~ to them from offenders.) <sup>Venn auch diese nicht speisen.</sup>

49. This is the exemption of every guarantor who comes to <sup>endorse</sup> ~~levy~~ this <sup>long</sup> ~~tribute~~, viz. the guilt of their family does not come upon them so long as they <sup>have the entire ship</sup> support guarantors and while they are in possession and do not <sup>escape</sup> ~~escape~~; but their own guilt (comes upon them) or the guilt of their offspring and of their children and of their retainers.

50. If it be rape of a maiden, seven half-cumals (is the fine) for it. If a hand (is put) upon her or in her girdle, ten ounces for it. If a hand (is put) under her dress to defile her, three ounces and seven cumals for it. If there be a blemish of her head or her eyes or in the face or in the ear or nose or tooth or tongue or foot or hand, seven cumals are (to be paid) for it. If it be a blemish of any other part of her body, seven half-cumals for it. If it be tearing of her dress, seven ounces and one cumal for it.

51. If it be making a gentlewoman blush by imputing unchastity to her or by denying her offspring, there are seven cumals (to be paid) for it until it comes to (the wife of) an *aire désa*. Seven half-cumals if it be the wife of an *aire désa*. From her onwards to a *muiri*, seven ounces.

52. If women be employed in an assault or in a host or fight, seven cumals for every hand as far as seven, and beyond that it is to be accounted as the crime of one man. If a woman has been got with child by stealth, without contract, without full rights, without dowry, without betrothal, a full fine for it. Whatever . . . which is <sup>is for</sup> of hand-produce, great or small, whatever of dye-stuff, or woad or <sup>Inguine</sup> beans. If it be red dye of a cloak, ~~did~~ <sup>of</sup> of a cloak for it<sup>2</sup>. <sup>are reckoned as equal women's</sup>

53. Three guarantors for every chief church for the Law of Adamnan, viz. the prior and the cook and the steward; and a guarantor of the Law from (every) parent-family throughout all Ireland; and two guarantors of the Law from <sup>high</sup> ~~high~~ chieftains, and <sup>a</sup> ~~hostages~~ <sup>to be held</sup> ~~to be held~~ for its payment, if there be the proof of women.

<sup>to take it from them (i.e. to make it legal, as violence of women is *propter facie*, not</sup>  
<sup>th. Bach. p. 44</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Something seems omitted.

<sup>2</sup> *dilim* and *dirim* (probably the same word) are obscure to me.

## NOTES

§ 1. *Five ages*, &c. This division of the age of the world before Christ into five periods as against the six periods of Eusebius appears first in western literature in the writings of Augustine (*De Civitate Dei*, xxii. 30), whence it passed into those of Isidore, Bede, &c. See Zimmer, *Nennius Vindictus*, p. 181.

Ib. *Adamnan, son of Ronan*, &c. Adamnan's pedigree is thus versified in a poem copied by Michael O'Clery '*as seinleabhar dorchá*' in the same Brussels MS. fo. 83 b (see also LL. p. 369 marg. sup.):

Adamnān rohalt in Hi      mac rēil Rōnāin maic Tinni  
maic Aoda maic Lugdach<sup>1</sup> tra      maic Sētna maic Fergusa<sup>2</sup>.  
A máthair madchin i crī      Ronnat ingen Sēgini,  
Sēgini in ordain āin      dagmac Dūach maic Barrfinnāin<sup>3</sup>.

2. *i cinn na cobla*. I have taken *cobla* to stand for *comla* 'door.'

3. *her wooden pole*. Perhaps better 'her wooden spear.' See my Contributions to Irish Lexicography s. v. *cess* f.

4. *ní gatar a forgall ar domun degmná*. *Doman* seems used here in the sense of 'all' or 'any,' like *bith*.

Ib. *forsither*, 3. sing. of the s-subjunctive passive of *fo-rigim*. See Strachan, Sigmatic Future, pp. 6, 7.

Ib. *is sruith máin máthair, maith máin máthair*. Cf. Laws, v. 462, 1: *sruith fer finntiu, sen fer findthiu*.

6. *Odba* (Ovey), now obsolete. It was near Navan in East Meath. See the Four Masters, p. 544, and O'Dugan, Topographical Poems, p. 7, and p. iv, n. 17.

Ib. *cia is goríu*? Instead of *goríu* R has, wrongly, the superlative *gorium*.

Ib. *concbaim* = *congbaim*, the enclitic form of *con-gabim*, here used, perhaps, to imply dependence of the clause on the preceding sentence.

Ib. *ní fetur goire*, &c. Cf. *dligid máthair míngaíre*, *Zeitschrift*, iv. p. 468, § 4.

Ib. *drónaim* for *dorónaim*, i. e. *do-ro-gním*. Observe the potential function of *ro* with the present indicative.

<sup>1</sup> Lugada MS.

<sup>2</sup> .i. do cenēl Lugdach.

<sup>3</sup> .i. do cenēl Ēnna.

7. *sóthe st* for *sóithis sí* = *sóis st* (cf. *sóithis*, § 8). *th* merely serves to mark off the two syllables from each other.

8. *mo chiigh* = *mo chích*. Cf. the spelling *baghaill* for *bachaill*, § 9; *aght* for *acht*, ib.

9. *a-mmo chomdiu*. As to the doubling of the *m* after the vocative particle *a* see Stokes, Kuhn's Zeitschrift, xxxviii. p. 469.

10. *Smir-gat*, 'marrow-withe.' The name also occurs as that of one of Finn mac Cumhaill's wives. See *Cath Finntrága*, p. 74, 1. Cf. *Bir-gat*, the name of a *ban-echlach* of Finn's, Eg. 1782, p. 22 b, 1.

Ib. *co ná deochaid anim i comatreb a colla diib*. Cf. LU. 33 a, 14: *céin robátar hi fus hi comaitreib a corp 7 a n-anmand*.

11. *maithi*. I have never met this form and should have altered to *maith*, but that it occurs in both MSS.

Ib. *ní rubai in béo cen bíad*. Note the potential function of *ro* with the present indicative, and cf. *ní rubai aní sin in nominatiuo*, Sg. 209 a, 3.

Ib. *día n-acet*. *día* with subjunctive = 'if.' See Strachan, *Subjunctive Mood in Irish*, pp. 38, 40, 44, 48.

12. *sóithi sí*. Cf. the note on § 7.

Ib. *Brugach, son of Deda* (Dega? Daig?), not mentioned in the Annals.

Ib. *to be buried alive in the earth*. In ancient Ireland burying alive seems to have been practised either as a punishment or as a sacrifice to the dead. See the story of fifty captives buried alive around the grave of Fiachra, the brother of Eochaid Mugmedóin (A. D. 358-366), LL. p. 190 c, 13; BB. 264 b, 25; YBL. 187 b, 30; Silva Gadelica, p. 543; Rev. Celt. xxiv. p. 184; and cf. Ir. Texte, iii. p. 417.

Ib. *commaid didiu* is my conjecture for the corrupt *commaidedh* of R and *comaitiu* of B. *commaid*=*com-buith* 'a being together.'

Ib. *a ddorn*. The *dd* serves to indicate the non-aspiration of *d* after the feminine *a*.

14. *Carric in Chulinn*, not identified.

15. *túargbata*. This strange form which is in both MSS. I cannot explain. One would expect *túargbad*. Perhaps the archetypus had *túargbath*. Cf. *doratath*, § 11.

16. *Loingsech Bregbán* (i. e. fair-white), son of Oengus, king of Ireland from 696-703, when he was slain by Cellach, son of Ragallach, king of Connaught, in the battle of Corann.

Ib. *Olc ré i ndigéntar súan fir for (=ar) mnáib*. The translation should



perhaps be: 'an evil time when a man's sleep (i. e. death) will be caused for the sake of women.'

Ib. *deaf and dumb*, because, according to § 14, Adamnan's ears were filled with putrid matter and the root of his tongue had been eaten away.

17. *Doelgus, son of Oengus, king of Munster*. Nothing further seems known of him. According to § 18 he had his seat at a place called Lettir.

Ib. *Elodach, king of the Deisi*, who had his seat at Femen (§ 18).

Ib. *Cúcherca, king of Ossory*, died in 713. He became one of the signatories to the Cáin.

Ib. *Cellach the Red, king of Leinster*. He had his seat at Carman (§ 18).

Ib. *Irgalach úa Conaing, king of Bregia*. He is called king of Ciannachta in the list of guarantors. Cf. Gwynn, *Dindsenchas*, i. 20.

Ib. *Brugach, son of Deda*, has been mentioned above (§ 12).

Ib. *Fingin Eoganach*. Nothing seems known about him.

18. *ar ben-lus*, 'intentionally, on purpose,' as in Laws, i. 58, 14 (*cíd ar benlus dognether*). Cf. *ba for a iarair d'aon-loss dodheochadar* 'it was solely to look for him they had come,' Betha Aodha Ruaidh, p. 10, 17. *cf also ACL I 108.*

Ib. *Femen na nDéisi*, a plain in the present baronies of Iffa and Offa, co. Tipperary.

Ib. The last half-line of the poem has two syllables too many.

19. *oc ogbáil*, probably leg. *oc congábáil*, 'keeping,' with B. Cf. *o[c] cosnam* in § 21.

Ib. *The palm of gentlemen from them*, i. e. *the flower or choice of gentlemen shall spring from them*. Compare a similar passage in the Book of Fenagh, p. 142.

Ib. *meth ocus milled*. Cf. *is meth 7 milliud dond fir*, ZCP. iii. 3, 3.

20. *ná rup comlann a bliadain*. One would expect *comlán*, and I have so translated. But *comlann* gives assonance with *Domnall*.

Ib. *cudach* may stand for *cuthach* 'madness.'

21. *for Breg firthrebach*. Notice the dative singular *Breg*. The plural *Brega* is generally used. See my contributions s. v. *Brega*.

Ib. *costrasta* = *cosa tráth sa*.

22. *The two Patricks*, i. e. St. Patrick and Sen-Phatraic (Old Patrick), the *Patraic aile* of Fiac's hymn, mentioned in the list of coarbs of Armagh as the second successor of St. Patrick in that see (!). His day is the 24th August; see the Féilire of Oengus, who calls him *cóim-aite ar srotha* 'the lovable tutor of our elder.' According to the Annals of Ulster he died either in 457 or 461.

Ib. *The two Ciarans*, i. e. Ciaran of Saigir (Seirkieran) and Ciaran of Clonmacnois (ob. A. D. 549).



Ib. *The two Cronans*, probably Cronan bishop of Inishmahee (ob. 643) and Cronan of Moville (ob. 650). They are among the addressees of the letter of Pope John IV. See Bede, ii. c. 19.

Ib. *The four Fintans*. There are so many saints of this name that I cannot say which are here referred to.

Ib. *Mobtu*, or Bite, abbot of Inis Cumsraig (July 22).

Ib. *Mobí*, with the nickname *Clárenech* (Flat-faced), abbot of Glasnevin, ob. A. D. 545.

Ib. *Momaedóc*, probably the bishop of Fid-dúin in Ossory of that name (Martyrology of Donegal, May 18).

Ib. *Munnu*, bishop, and abbot of Cluain Eidnech in Laigis (Leix). Also called Fintain (Mart. Don., Oct. 21).

Ib. *Scothíne*, or Scuthín, of Tech-Scuthín in Slíab Mairge in Leinster (Mart. Don., Jan. 2).

Ib. *Senán*. There are numerous saints of this name.

Ib. *Féchíne*, founder and abbot of Fobar (Fore), died about 665 (Mart. Don., Jan. 20).

Ib. *Dúilech*, of Clochar (Mart. Don., Nov. 17).

Ib. *Cairnech*, probably Cairnech of Tulen (Mart. Don., May 16).

Ib. *Cianan*, probably the bishop of Damliacc (Duleek), ob. A. D. 489 (Nov. 24).

Ib. *Carthach*, a foster-son of Ciaran of Saigir, founder of Cell Charthaig in Tironell (March 5).

Ib. *Bishop Curílan*, abbot of Ross Meinn (March 16).

Ib. *Ionan mac Samáin*, evidently the same as *Iohain mac Samuél* mentioned in the list of guarantors.

Ib. *Foelan*, abbot of *Imlech Ibair*. The abbot of Emly mentioned in the list is called Diblaine Elnai, while there is a Faelan of Clonfert-Brenann. Probably a scribe has blundered in § 22.

Ib. *Cilline*, abbot of *Lorrha*. In the list Cilline is called abbot of Birr, while the abbot of Lorrha there mentioned is named Colman. This is correct; for Colman mac Sechnasaig, abbot of Lorrha, is mentioned in the Annals of Ulster as having died A. D. 710.

Ib. *Eochaid*, abbot of *Cluain Uama*, now Cloyne, co. Cork, is also mentioned in the list.

Ib. *The two Finnens*, probably Finnen of Clonard (ob. 549) and Finnen of Moville (ob. A. D. 579).

Ib. *The son of Labraid Lán*, not known to me.

23. *from 7 nenaíd 7 tradnæ*. Cf. the following triad: *trí comartha láthraig*

*mallachlain .i. tromm 7 neimtóc 7 tradnai* 'three signs of an accursed site, viz. elder and nettle and corncrakes,' Book of Hy Maine, fo. 101 a, 1=YBL. 416 b, 33=BB. 65 b, 47=H. 2. 17, fo. 184 d. As to the connexion between the corncrake and nettles compare the following Munster proverb: '*gach aon neach mar oiltear é,*' *ars'an tradhnach ag dul'sa neantóg*, Gael. Journ. vii. p. 88 b.

Ib. *however often his reliquaries would come*. This refers to the practice of carrying about the relics of a saint for the purpose of exacting the *cáin* or tribute due to him.

Ib. *co cumunc cecha mná chena*. Cf. *dobér-sa mo chumang duit* 'I will give thee all I can' (sic leg.), Rev. Celt. xxiii. p. 398, § 3.

24. *a white tunic with a black border*. From a passage in the *Vision of Mac Conglinne* (p. 96, l. 8) we learn that the black border had a prophylactic purpose. The woman who is to wait upon Mac Conglinne must wear 'a cloak with a black edge between its two peaks, that sorrow may not come upon her.'

25. *teora ban*. This use of the gen. instead of the nom. I cannot explain.

Ib. *cech áine didine*, literally, 'every last fast' (i. e. of the week), as *cét-áin* 'Wednesday,' means 'first fast.' The nominative of *didine* (gen. f.) is *diden* or *deden*. Cf. *áin didn* LB. 9 b, 47, 10 b, 3, and the following compounds: *deden-rí na nAsarda* 'the last king of the Assyrians,' LL. 144 a, 22; *ciarb focus a dedendál* 'though his last tryst (i. e. death) was near,' Salt. na Rann, l. 7374; *tan doáinic a ndedenbhaidh*, FM. A. D. 845, where *dedenbhaidh* rimes with *Fedlimid*. Thurneysen has shown (Zeitschr. für deutsche Wortforschung, i. p. 190) how the Old-Irish *dia óine didine* was in Middle-Irish gradually replaced by *dia háine* and lastly *áine*, the reason being that Wednesday ceased to be observed as a day of fasting.

Ib. *a mbreith*. R reads *a preith*, where the *p* is intended to mark the non-aspiration of *b* after the feminine possessive.

26. *doadas tadas*. Cf. *badas* (leg. *doadas*?) *tadas*, Rev. Celt., p. 414, § 28, and *for aig thaig*, Salt. na Rann, l. 3241.

27. *for mnáib*. As to this use of the dative (originally the instrumental) in apposition and its later change into a prepositional expression (*in far nUliaib*, LL. 112 b, 47) see Pedersen, Zeitschrift, ii. p. 379.

28. *for feraib Hérenn ocus Alban*. That *Alba* here means Britain, not Scotland, is shown by the corresponding passage in the Latin text of § 33: '*te oportet legem in Hibernia Britaniaque perficere*.' For this meaning of *Alba* during the Old-Irish period see my *Contributions* s. v., and consider the following lines from an old poem quoted somewhere by Mac Firis:

*fairenn Alban co muir nIcht  
Góidil, Cruithnig, Saxain, Britt.*

Ib. *Fland Febla*, bishop of Armagh, ob. A. D. 715.

Ib. *Díbláine Elnai*, abbot of Emly, perhaps the Dsbléni mentioned in the Martyrology of Donegal, Jan. 14.

Ib. *Cennfáelad*, abbot of Bangor, ob. A. D. 705.

Ib. *Faílbe Becc*, abbot of Clonmacnois, ob. A. D. 713.

Ib. *Conodar*, abbot of Lismore. I believe that Lismore is a mistake for Fore (Ir. Fobar). A Conodar, abbot of Fore, died in 707 (A.U.), while Colmán son of Findbarr, mentioned below, was abbot of Lismore at the time.

Ib. *Cillíne son of Luibneán*, abbot of Birr, see Mart. Don., April 14.

Ib. *Colmán son of Sechnasach*, abbot of Lorrha, ob. A. D. 710.

Ib. *Eochaid*, abbot of Cloyne, co. Cork. Not mentioned in the Annals.

Ib. *Forandán*, abbot of Kildare, ob. A. D. 698.

Ib. *Suadbar*, abbot of Inis Deimle (or Daimle), now 'Little Island' in the Suir near Waterford. A bishop Soadbar is mentioned in the Martyrology of Donegal, p. 181 (July 26).

Ib. *Díbléne*, abbot of Tŷr-dá-glass. Not mentioned in the Annals.

Ib. *Mochonnui*, abbot of Derry, mentioned in the Martyrology of Donegal under May 15, as one of the guarantors of Adamnan's Law. He is called Da Chonda Daire by Tigernach. He died in 706.

Ib. *Oisíne son of Glas*, abbot of Clonfertmulloe. This is evidently Osséni filius Galluist ab Clúana maic Nóis, whose death Tigernach records under the year 706.

Ib. *Mancháine*, abbot of Leithglenn, now Leighlin, ob. A. D. 726.

Ib. *Moacru*, perhaps identical with Moacru mac Senáin mentioned in the Book of Leinster, p. 350 a. See also the Mart. Don., Jan. 8.

Ib. *Mobeóc of Ard*. This is evidently *Mophióc ó Ard Camrois for brú Locha Carman* (Garman, Féil.) *i nUibh Ceinnsealaigh* of the Mart. Don., Dec. 16 = Féil. p. clxxxii.

Ib. *Murchu*, abbot of Balla (in the barony of Clanmorris, co. Mayo), probably the immediate successor of Cronan Balnae, who died in 692 (F.M.).

Ib. *Moling Lúachra*, ob. A. D. 696.

Ib. *Mend Maiche*, abbot of Ferns. Not mentioned in the Annals.

Ib. *Colcu son of Moenach*, abbot of Lusk, ob. A. D. 702.

Ib. *Bishop Ceti*, evidently Coeddi, bishop of Iona, who died A. D. 712 (A.U.). See the Mart. Don. p. 282.

Ib. *Bishop Curetan*, abbot of Ross Meinn or Ross Maic Bairned (Gorman and Mart. Don., March 16). Not mentioned in the Annals.

Ib. *Bishop Conamail son of Conan* (or Cano, A.U.), ob. A. D. 705.

Ib. *Colmán grandson of Orc*, abbot of Clonard, ob. A. D. 701.



Ib. *Aed, bishop of Sletty*, called 'anchorita' in the Annals of Ulster, ob. A. D. 700. He is the Aidus Slettiensis episcopus mentioned in Tirechán's notes.

Ib. *Colmán son of Findbarr, abbot of Lismore*, ob. A. D. 703.

Ib. *Cardide of Ross Mór* (in the barony of Leitrim, co. Galway). Not mentioned in the Annals or Martyrologies.

Ib. *Togialloc grandson of Luan, the Wise*. Not mentioned in the Annals or Martyrologies.

Ib. *Bishop Ichlbricht*. This is the well-known Anglian ecclesiastic Eggercet, who brought the monks of Iona to paschal conformity (see Bede, ii. c. 11). He died in 729.

Ib. Of *Feradach grandson of Arthur, Fáelchú son of Máelrubai, Fáelan of Clonfert-Brenann, Dibchéne son of Fili*, and *Mosacra* nothing is known either from the Annals or Martyrologies.

Ib. *Máelcoisni son of Conall*. Though I have preferred the reading of B (*mac Conaill*) to that of R (*mac dall*), I now see from a list of saints in the Book of Leinster, p. 368 f, that the latter is correct. There I find *Maelcoisne mac dall*, i. e. 'M. the Blind Boy.' Nothing is known about him from the Annals or Martyrologies.

Ib. *Murchú maccuí Machthéine*. This is the well-known writer of a portion of St. Patrick's memoirs in the Book of Armagh.

Ib. *Bishop Máeldub, Ioain* (i. e. Johannes) *of the Wisdom, son of the Smith*, and *Ioain son of Samuel* are not mentioned elsewhere.

Ib. *Fáelán grandson of Silne*, ob. A. D. 711.

Ib. *Loingsech son of Oengus, king of Ireland*. See the note on § 16.

Ib. *Congalach son of Fergus, king of Tirconnell*. Not mentioned in the Annals.

Ib. *Fland Find son of Máelhuile, king of Tyrone*. He died in 700.

Ib. *Conchobur son of Máeldúin, king of Cinel-Coirpri* (a sept in the barony of Granard, co. Longford). He was slain in 706.

Ib. *Eterscél son of Máeluma, king of Munster*. Not mentioned in the Annals.

Ib. *Cúdnaisc son of Cellach, king of East Munster*. Not mentioned in the Annals, unless this was the Cúdnaisc slain in 709 in the battle of Mag Elni (AV.).

Ib. *Cúcherca, king of Ossory*, died in 713.

Ib. *Congal son of Suibne, king of the Déisi* (of Bregia). He is called Conall in the Annals of Ulster, A. D. 701, in which year he was killed.

Ib. *Eoganán son of Crundmál, king of the Ui Fidgenti* (a sept in the barony of Coshma, co. Limerick). He was probably the immediate predecessor of Conall son of Donennach, king of the Ui Fidgenti, who died in 701.



Ib. *Andelaitih*, king of the northern *Déisi*. Not mentioned in the Annals.

Ib. *Elodach* son of *Dúnlang*, king of *Desmond*. Not mentioned in the Annals.

Ib. *Ailill* son of *Cú-cen-máthair*, king of *Mag Féne*. He is called 'rex Muman' in the Annals of Ulster. Died in 701.

Ib. *Fiacha Cosalach* (i. e. the swift-footed), king of the *Picts*, i. e. the Irish *Picts* of *Dálaraide*. He is mentioned in the list of *Dalaraidian* kings in the Book of Leinster (p. 41e) as *Fiachra Cossalach*.

Ib. *Bécc Boirchi* (of *Boirche*), king of *Ulster*, died in 718.

Ib. *Niall* son of *Cernach* (*Sotal*, i. e. the Proud), king of *Bregmag*, slain in 701.

Ib. *Cellach* son of *Gerthide*, king of *Diabal-Laigen*. This is the king of Leinster called *Cellach Derg* in §§ 18 and 19. He is called *Cellach mac Gerthid* in the list of Leinster kings in the Book of Leinster (p. 39 b), *Cellach Cúalann rex Lagen* in the Annals of Ulster (A. D. 714), *Cellach Cúalann mac Gerrthide ri Laigen* by the Four Masters (A. D. 713). He died in 715.

Ib. *Condálach* son of *Conaing*, king of *Corco Dubne* (now the barony of *Corkaguiney*, co. *Kerry*). The death of a person of that name is mentioned in the Annals of Ulster A. D. 717, but he is called king of the *Ui Cremthainn*, a sept in the barony of *Slane*, co. *Meath*.

Ib. *Corpri* son of *Cúcholuimb*, king of the *Ui Cennselaig* (in South Leinster) was slain in 709. The Annals of Ulster A. D. 708 call him, wrongly, *Cúcholuinn*, while A. D. 683 the name is rightly given.

Ib. *Congal* grandson of *Mrachaide*. Not mentioned in the Annals.

Ib. *Conall* son of *Doinennach*, king of the *Ui Fidgenti*, died in 701.

Ib. *Cellach* son of *Ragallach*, king of *Connaught*. He is called 'Cellach Locha Cime' in the Annals of Ulster A. D. 703. He died in 705 'post clericatum.' Cf. LL. p. 41 a: [Ce]llach mac Rogellaig .uii. [annos]. in clericatu obiit.

Ib.  *Dlúthach* son of *Fidchellach*, king of the *Ui Maine* (a sept in *Galway* and *Roscommon*). He was burnt to death in 712 (AU.).

Ib. *Dúnchad*, king of the *Ui Amalgaid* (now the barony of *Tirawley*, co. *Mayo*), and of the *Ui Fiachrach Murisc* (a sept in the barony of *Murrisk*, co. *Mayo*). Not mentioned in the Annals.

Ib. *Muirges* son of *Máeldúin*. He was king of the *Cenél-Coirpri* (a sept in the barony of *Granard*, co. *Longford*), and died in 698.

Ib. *Macnúa*, king of *Ard* of the *Ui Echach* (a district in the baronies of *Upper* and *Lower Iveagh*, co. *Down*), died in 702.

Ib. *Murchad* of *Meath*. Not mentioned in the Annals.

Ib. *Colmán* son of *Rechtabra*, king of *Ferns* (co. *Wexford*). Not mentioned in the Annals.

Ib. *Máelfothartaig son of Máeldub*. He was king of the Airgialla, and died in 697.

Ib. *Dub-díberc*, probably the son of Dungal, who fell in the battle of Corann in 703. See Tig. A. D. 702. Three Fragments, p. 106.

Ib. *Mane son of Niall son of Cernach Sotal*, slain in battle A. D. 712.

Ib. *Maelcáich son of Noindenach*. Not mentioned in the Annals.

Ib. *Erthuile grandson of Crundmál*. He was expelled from the kingship of the Cinel-Eogain and went to Britain in 700 (AU.).

Ib. *Aed of Odba*, killed in 701 (AU.).

Ib. *Echuid son of Dúnchad*, king of the Déisi. Not mentioned in the Annals.

Ib. *Aed son of Dlúthach, king of the Fir Cul* (now the barony of Kells, co. Meath), fell in the battle of Kells, A. D. 718.

Ib. *Flaithnía son of Fergal*. Not mentioned in the Annals.

Ib. *Fiannamail grandson of Dúnchad*. He was king of the Irish Dálriata, and died A. D. 700.

Ib. *Feradach grandson of Ciarán*. This was perhaps the son of Maeldúin, king of Cinel Laegairi (a sept seated around Trim, co. Meath), who was slain in 704 (AU.).

Ib. *Fedlimid grandson of Fergus*. He is called son of Fergus son of Aedan in AU. Died in 701.

Ib. *Fallomain, king of the Ui Tuirtri*, a sept in co. Antrim. Not mentioned in the Annals, nor in the *Genelach ríge húa Turtri*, LL. p. 338 d.

Ib. *Fergus Forchraid*, slain in the battle of Corann in 703.

Ib. *Fogartach*<sup>1</sup>. This is probably the son of Niall and grandson of Cernach Sotal, who later became king of Ireland, and was slain in the battle of Cenn-Delgden in 724.

Ib. *Garbán, king of Meath*. He died in 702.

Ib. *Eochu Lemna, king of the Ui Cremthainn* (a sept in the barony of Slane, co. Meath). He fell in the battle of Corann in 703 (Three Fragments, p. 107).

Ib. *Eochu grandson of Domnall, king of the [ ]*. I cannot supply the gap. 'Echu nepos Domnaill iugulatus est,' AU. 697.

Ib. *Conall Grant, king of southern Bregia*, slain in 718.

Ib. *Túathal grandson of Dúnchad, king of the Ui Chonaill Gabra*. This was perhaps the king of that sept slain in the battle of Corann in 703. See AU. i. p. 152, n. 1.

Ib. *Toicthech son of Cennfélad, king of Luigni* (now the barony of Leyny,

<sup>1</sup> In the text the name Fogartach has by an oversight not been separated from that of Fergus Forchraid.

co. Sligo). In the Annals of Ulster and in the *Genelach Lugni Connacht* (LL. pp. 338 h), he is called Taiclech or Taichlech<sup>1</sup>. He died in 734.

Ib. *Bodbchath, king of Luigni* (now the barony of Lune, co. Meath). He is called Bodbchad Mide in the Annals of Ulster, Bodbchar mac Diarmata Ruanaid in Three Fragments, p. 110. He was slain in the battle of Cloenad A. D. 704.

Ib. *Irgalach grandson of Conaing, king of Ciannacht*. He was slain by Britons in Inis mac Nessan, A. D. 702 (AU.).

Ib. *Bruide son of Derile, king of the Pict-folk*, i. e. of the Scottish Picts. He died A. D. 706.

29. *tocuitchetar*, 3. plur. perf. of *do-tongim*, with inserted perfective particle *-com-*. Cf. *datongal*, § 46; *ducuitig*, Wb. 33 d, 10.

Ib. *ní gata*. This emendation of *ní catta* (*cata*) of the MSS. is due to Professor Strachan.

30. *arim inducbude*; 31, *arimm garit a sdegul*. Cf. Wb. 25 a, 9: *arim tairis-mech*, 'that it may be stable.'

31. *ná-da-sía, ná-da-comalnathar, ná-timarr*, 3. sing. subj. of *saigim, comalnur, do-immurc*.

Ib. *cen athgabáil nime ná talman úadib*. Cf. LL. 354 e: *ná ricfa a anim nem 7 ná biad a athgabáil i talmain*.

32. *Up to twenty days*. Nineteen psalms only are enumerated. As we see from the versified arrangement in *Hibernica Minora*, p. 45, '*Deus ultionum*' 7 *Anton* should be inserted after *Senpól*.

Ib. *Old Paul*, i. e. Paul the Hermit.

33. *iactatur in peregrinationem trans mare sub regula regiminis duri*. Cf. § 45. On the punishment of sending adrift on the sea, see Stokes, Trip. Life, p. clxxiv. Among the unpublished legal tracts in H. 3. 18. I find the following (p. 227 a): Mad mac scrine .i. mac so dorinne[d] ri coibdelaig ina richt budein 7 is *ed dlegair* a cur i scrin lethair ar muir in eret bus léir gelsciath ar muir, *i. e.* 'If it be a "mac scríne," that is, a boy who has been begotten upon a kinswoman in her own guise (i. e. without mistaking her for another) he shall be put in a leathern box upon the sea as far as a white shield is visible.' And again (ib.): Mad fer a cliab áen[s]luaisti [.i.] duine seo curthir a cliab áen[s]luaiste amach for muir ina cintaib anfoit no inndethberi torbaid in airet is léir geilsciath for muir, lón menaidh[ch]e aenaidche lais 7 genn orda tri ndornd ina láim ac dingbáil aithide in mara de, *i. e.* 'If it be a man in a wicker-boat of one paddle, that is,

<sup>1</sup> For the same confusion of the names Toicthech and Taichlech, see AU., A. D. 808.



a man who is put in a wicker-boat of one paddle out upon the sea for his crimes of inadvertence or unnecessary profit (?), as far as a white shield is visible upon the sea, store of meal and water for one night with him, and a wedge of a sledge-hammer (?) of three fists (i. e. three fists long) in his hand for keeping off the *beasts* of the sea.' Cf. also Laws, i. 14, 10; ib., 204, 22.

34. *inbuihi*. Cf. O'Mulconry's Glossary, 311: *dibell .i. ní inbuihi in bello* (sic leg.). Ib., 300: *.i. ní buithe in bello*. Here the word is taken as consisting of the prefix *in* and *buihi*, the participle of necessity of *búu*, 'I am.'

35. *ar-id-accai*, *nach-id-anaig*, 3. pers. sing. pres. ind. of *ar-accim*, 'I look on,' and *angim*, 'I save,' with infixed neuter pronoun *-id*. Cf. Laws, iv. 362, 24: *cach duine aridsisither 7 nachidnanaig cach nirt cach folud* (sic leg.).

Ib. *arra cuir*, perhaps 'payment of a security.' Cf. Laws, v. 454, 15: *arra cuir ó mnái eisinnric*.

36. *foltmaissi*. Here *a* stands for *i*. Cf. *trían díre ina tairdhe*, Laws, iv. 168, 25. The exact meaning of *foltmaise* is not known to me. Atkinson, Laws Gloss. s. v., conjectures 'tonsure.'

Ib. *fethaltæ* seems miswritten for *fethaldæ*, a derivative from *fethal*, 'emblem.' See Wi. s. v., and compare the following note in Rawlinson B. 512, fol. 44 b: *Cūic prímfethail cecha ecalsa rohordaiged la rīg Muman .i. Finngúine 7 la Cathal co maithib Muman umpa .i. bachall 7 menistir 7 cros 7 cloc 7 catur .i. soiscēla*. 'Five chief emblems of every church were ordered by the king of Munster, even Finguine, and by Cathal, with the nobles of Munster around them, viz. staff and service-set and cross and bell and a book of the gospels.'

37. *dongoat*, 3. pers. plur. of the pres. ind. *do-goim*, 'I choose,' with infixed relative *-n-*.

38. *gell a ochtaib*. I take *ochtaib* to be the dat. plur. of *ucht*, but my rendering of *a ochtaib* by 'at once' is a mere conjecture.

39. *as meise cacha saigtheche*. This is very obscure. *meise* might be the participle or part. of necessity of *midiur*, 'I judge.' *saigtheche* seems a fem. abstract from *saigthech*, 'suable.'

41. *na banscál*. Notice the O. Ir. neuter form of *nach* with *banscál*, while in § 45 and elsewhere the feminine dative *banscáil* is used.

Ib. *eirrihi*, participium necessitatis of *as-renim*.

Ib. *céim*, literally 'step,' here perhaps rather means 'a stile,' like W. *camfa*.

42. *Mád céltchin*, &c. Both MSS. are corrupt here. Though I can make nothing of a *folath* (*foluth*), I regard *mád céltchin* as a certain emendation, in view of *mani céltchin* later on.



43. *na foachla fofechar*. *foachla* (apparently a neuter) seems a byform of *fuachtain* f. 'injury, damage' (see the Laws Gloss. s.v., and Zeitschr., iii. 3, 1: *dorónsaid fuachtain frim*).

44. *innindrig*, 'a person whose wound requires a tent.' See Laws Gloss. s.v. *indindrach* (a vox nihili).

Ib. *is for lethstachu gonae duine dotléit*. Cf. *dotléit for*, 'touches upon,' Wb. 2 a, 3; Sg. 108 a, 3. *tét for a naidm*, Laws, iv. 306, 20. *dotléit aitare ar fer feras in fuil*, ib., 302, 1.

Ib. *co sár-tairbirt*. Here the meaning of *tairbert*, the verb-noun of *do-air-berim*, is not clear to me. It sometimes means 'vigour,' as in Dinds., 109: *nach tairbert dobered fuirri*. But as it also means 'parturition, birth' (e.g. Zeitschr., iii. 233), perhaps *sártairbert* refers to miscarriage brought about by violence.

45. *for murchreth* should probably be altered into *for murchreich*. Cf. *regait ind bic diar n-inchaib-ne murcreich*, YBL. p. 129 b.

Ib. *long menathcha*. The word *menathach* or *menadach* is derived from *min*, 'flour,' and denoted a mixture of meal and butter. According to a text published in Archiv, ii. p. 136, such a mixture was permitted in penance as a substitute for water. The word was borrowed by the Norse as *minnpak*, n. Cf. *Islandiga sögur* I, 34<sup>o</sup>: *pá tóku þrælanir írsku þat ráð at knoða saman mjöl ok smjör ok kölluðu þat úporstlátt; þeir nefndu þat minnpak*.

46. *dune-táile*, better *dune-táide*, literally 'man-stealth,' i.e. murder with subsequent concealment of the body. Cf. the Laws Glossary and *De Arreis*, § 5 (Rev. Celt., xv. p. 493), where I have wrongly rendered the word.

Ib. *foreccatar*, 3. plur. pres. ind. pass. of *fo-riccim*, 'I find,' not *for-icim*, as Professor Atkinson has in the Glossary to the Laws.

47. *mani eirre*, 3. sing. subj. of *as-renim*.

Ib. *derbfine*, i.e. the grandfather, the paternal uncle, the nephew and the first cousin of a person. See D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Étude sur le Droit Celtique*, i. p. 186.

48. *biat*, contracted from *biathat*. Cf. *mani biathat* in the next sentence where B has *mani bial*.

Ib. *lind bis*. I conjecture *lin mbis*, lit. 'the number which it is,' i.e. 'whatever number they are.'

Ib. *tobó*, 3. sing. fut. of *do-bongim*. See Strachan, Sigmatic Future, p. 8. With the whole paragraph compare *Aisl. Maic Conglinne*, p. 45, 24: *rfg do aithne na fíach, briugaid do imfulang do chaithem bíd 7 lenna 7 lessaigthe léo céin bed ic tobach m' fíach*.

Ib. *fo maith cáich*, leg. *fo miad cáich*, 'according to the rank of every one.'

49. *frimtobach*, perhaps leg. *fri tobach*.

Ib. *tuinidech*, a derivative from *tunide*, the verb-noun of *do-nethim*, as *air-naide* is the verb-noun of *ar-nethim*. *Tunide* seems to mean 'the act of taking or being in possession, settled, stationary, or in a certain position.' See the Glossary to the Laws s.v., and cf. the following passages:—Ir. T. iii. 200, 25: *conid leis féin tuinithi in chlaidib 7 a tharrachtu* (sic leg.). YBL. 106 b, 19: *sínset im tuinithi tend | indse airegda Héirend*. LL. 345 d: *dligid tairec tunide*. LL. 290 b, 8: *bói issin tunide sin*. LU. 71 b, 6: *conaccassa iarom isin tunidi sin* ('in that position'). LL. 189 b: *Tunide Tige Burig* (the title of a story). TTr. 973: *do thúathaib tunide Troianna*. MR. 150, 3: *tuirthi tenna troma tréna tuinide turcbála tamnaighthi*.

Ib. *a compert*, perhaps leg. *a compirt* (gen. sing.).

50. *mád lám fo étach dia meblugud*. Cf. O'Dav., p. 104 s.v. mem: *a meblugud .i. ueste eleuata* (sic leg.).

51. *aire désa*, 'a chief of land,' the first rank in the *flaith*-grade. *désa* is the gen. of *dés*, f. 'land,' of which I have the following examples: *dub-dés is dub-tuinne*, LL. 147 a, 50; dat. *fon deis*, SR. 7856.

Ib. *muiri*, gen. *muirech*, dat. acc. *muirig*, 'a lord.'

Aed Buide i mbruigin cia be

muiri húa mfadach Maine. Harl. 5280, 49 b.

nom. pl. atát in muirig fo tráig

do ruirig nimi nóebnáir. SR. 3925.

See also the Laws Gloss. s.v.

52. *ellam*, 'dowry.' Cf. *ellam rogáid ben Géide | for a céile rocúala*, H. 3, 18, p. 533. Corm. Tr., p. 67, and O'Cl. s.v.

## GLOSSARY

a n-, the neuter article, a forus sa, 28.  
 ad-balim, *I die*; pass. pres. sing. dia  
 n-abbalar, 45; dia n-apallar, 46.  
 ad-oprim, *I offer up*; pret. plur. 3, atro-  
 partatar, 29.  
 áin diden, f. *Friday*; gen. cech áine  
 didine, 25.  
 airbe, n. *a fence*; gen. cúaille airbed, 3.  
 airbert, *use, employment*, 49.  
 airbuid, f. *bane*, 2.  
 aircinnech, m. *a chief*, 2.  
 airlech, *slaughter*; erlech, 6; gen. air-  
 lig, 3; dat. do oirliuch, 16.  
 airmitech féith, *honoured*, 30.  
 aithech tige, m. *a house-master*, 2, 26.  
 altbu (?), 46.  
 annac=ennac, *innocent*; nom. pl. m.  
 maic annaic, 40.  
 apad, *legal notice, stay*, 39.  
 ar-accim, *I look on*; aridaccai, 35.  
 arathá, *awaits*, 21.  
 árbach. *See ár-mag*.  
 arimm, *ut sit ei*, 30, 31.  
 armach, *armed*; voc. m. a mic armaig !  
 18.  
 ár-mag, n. *a battle-field, slaughter*, 7;  
 dat. i n-ármaig, 9.  
 as-ibim, *I drain*; co ná hesba (hesboi,  
 hesbe), 18.  
 ath-chumba, *a wounding*, 42.  
 ath-gábal, f. *attainment*, 31.

athre, *paternal kinsfolk*, 12.  
 atteoch, *I beseech*, 21; verb-n. attach,  
 32.  
 bæl (?), 6.  
 ban-augra, *a fight among women*, 44;  
 co banugrai, 45.  
 ban-chró, *female stock*, 29.  
 blái-nemed, *a sanctuary*; dat. pl. dia  
 bláineimthib, 36.  
 bóide, f. *kindness*, 9.  
 bort. *See port*.  
 cáin-béscna, n. *good behaviour*; dat. i  
 cáinbéscnu, 36.  
 cath-rói, *a battle-field*, 3.  
 cechrad, *perishing in a quagmire*, 42.  
 céimm, n. *stepping-stones, a stile*, 41.  
 cenélach, n. *a race*, 21.  
 certán, *a humming tune*, 6.  
 cessacht, f. *scarcity, niggardliness*, 27.  
 cét-munter, f. *a wife*, 34.  
 claidbed, *a putting to the sword*, 9, 17.  
 cléirchecht, f. *clerkship, priesthood*, 8.  
 clérehocán, m. double diminutive of  
 clérech, 'a cleric,' 8.  
 cluicín, *a little bell*, 17, 18, 20, 21.  
 cnáim-chrói (?), 46.  
 cobfiachach, *equally liable*, 45.  
 cobla, f. = comla, *a door*; gen. hi cinn  
 na cobla, 2.



cóicthe, *a period of five days*, 38. Laws.  
 com-ainm, *a namesake*, 25.  
 com-ard cinad, *a balancing of guill*, 43.  
 com-bach, *a breaking*, 42.  
 conebaim = con-gabaim, *I place*, 6.  
 corrán, *a hook*, 3.  
 costrasta, *until now*, 21.  
 cotach (verb-noun of con-tongim), *a covenant*, 12.  
 oriol, *a basket*, 2 (clior B).  
 cudach = cuthach, *madness*, 20.  
 cumalach, *female slaves*, 2.  
 cumalach, *f. female bondage*, 6.  
 dechmad, *a period of ten days*, 38. Laws.  
 dechrad, *hardship*; gen. mór dechroid, 5.  
 dero, *a hole*, 2.  
 derechtach, *forsaken*, 21.  
 dés, *f. land*; gen. aire désa, 51.  
 desceda, *dregs*; dat. co ndescdu, 18.  
 dí-arim, *innumerable, an indefinite number*, 35.  
 díbdathach, *childless*, 21.  
 dí-grád, *dishonour*, 31.  
 dilim (?), 52.  
 dirim (?), 52.  
 díscá, *f. dryness*, 8.  
 do-adas, *tadas*, 26.  
 do-aith-béogim, *I revive*; dúis in taith-béogfed, 8; rotathbéoged, 10.  
 do-bongim, *I levy (dues)*; fut. sg. 3, tobó, 48; pass. pres. ind. pl. intan dombongatar, 48.  
 dóchus, *m. probability*, 46.  
 do-goim, *I choose*; do-n-goat, 37.  
 dóig, *likelihood, probability*, 46.  
 do-immareaim (for), *I levy (upon)*; ná timmarr, 31; verb-n. timmarcain, 30.

dorat, *gave*; doratad, 11; co tarut, 8; co tartur, 8; co tarta, 22, 26.  
 do-tongim, *I swear*; datongat, 46; to-cuitchetar, 29.  
 droch-féicheam, *m. a bad debtor*; dat. féichemain, 26.  
 dub-ehrech, *f. a secret raid*, 46.  
 dulne, *a single leaf*, 46.  
 dune-táide, *f. murder followed by concealment of the corpse*, 46. See táide.  
 eocrus, *arrangement*, 46.  
 ellam, *dowry*, 52.  
 ennac, *innocent*, 35; nom. pl. m. ennaic, 43; acc. pl. m. encu, 34.  
 erlech. See airlech.  
 es-clú, *ill-fame*, 18.  
 es-cond, *m. a witless person*, 41.  
 eseuine, *excommunication, malediction*, 32.  
 etar-bíu (with acc.), *intersum*; etarbí, 47.  
 étged, *neglect*, 35.  
 etir-bás, *n. outright death*, 45.  
 fechtas, *once*, 6.  
 féile, *f. shame, pudenda*; dar a féili, 2.  
 ferad, *a wetting, wet*, 6.  
 fer-glac, *f. a man's hand (a measure)*, 2.  
 fethtaltae, 36. See note.  
 fid-cheis, *f. a wooden pole or spear*, 3.  
 foachta (a derivative of fo-fichim), *an injury, trespass*, 43.  
 fochlach, *a hiding-place*, 15.  
 fochlaid, *a digging under something*, 45.  
 fochrus, *waist, breast*; dar fochrus, 6. O'Mulc. 557.  
 fo-fichim, *I commit a crime*; fofich, 35; fofechar, 43.

folt-gabál, *f. a seizing by the hair*, 44.  
 foltmaise, *tonsure (?)*, 36.  
 forais, *impounding*, 39.  
 forbach, *fraction (?)*, 43; *gen. forbaich*,  
     *ib.*  
 forehor, *rape*, 50.  
 fo-rigim, *I bind*; *forsither*, 4.  
 for-loscud, *a burning*, 36.  
 forngaire, *proclamation*, 28.  
 for-tá, *is upon*, 34, 36, 39, 40, 41, 48.  
 fortamlas, *m. prevalence, superiority*, 19.  
 forus, *n. enactment*, 28, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39,  
     40, 41, 48.  
 frith-fola, *a cross-case*, 43.  
 fúal, *urine*, *acc. fri fúal*, 6.  
  
 geir, *lard*; *gen. gereth*, 2.  
 glaisine, *wood*, 52.  
 gor, *dutiful*, 6; *compar. goriu*, *ib.*  
 greim, *n. a hold*, 13; *nom. acc. pl.*  
     *gremann*, *bonds*, 22, 26.  
  
 ifeolta, *now*, 4, 11, 15.  
 inber, *m. a spit, a flesh-fork*; *gen. cend*  
     *ind inbir*, 2.  
 inbuiti (fri), *fit to be classed (with)*, 34.  
 induebude, *exalted*, 30.  
 ingníma, *fit for deeds*, 34.  
 ingreimm, *n. persecution, danger*, 41.  
 in-indrig, *one whose wound requires a*  
     *tent*, 44.  
 in-uithir (from othar), *one confined to*  
     *bed*, 44.  
 iris, *f. a strap*, 6.  
  
 lenbán, *a babe*, 3, 7.  
 leth-díre, *f. a half-due*, 36.  
 leth-flaach, *m. a half-due*, 32, 44.  
 leth-óil, *f. one cheek*, 12.

loss, *sake, behalf*; *ar óen-lus, for one*  
     *purpose*, 18. *See note.*  
 lúa, *a kick*; *dat. lú*, 23; *com' laú*, LU.  
     114 b, 10.  
  
 maithi, *well!* 11.  
 máthre, *maternal kinsfolk*, 12.  
 meblugud, *a shaming, defiling*, 50.  
 menadach, *n. meal and butter mixed*;  
     *gen. mionathaig (menathcha, R)*, 45.  
 mesrugud, *judgement*, 25.  
 meth, *n. decay*, 19, 20.  
 methaim, *I decay*; *methfaid*, 27.  
 mías, *f. the altar-slab*; *gen. cluicín méisi*  
     *Adomnáin*, 17.  
 míathach (míadach), *dignified, honoured*,  
     20.  
 muiri, *m. a chieftain*; *acc. co muirig*,  
     51.  
 mul, *a bowl*; *a mul imme*, 2. *Dimin.*  
     *mullóc*, *Laws.*  
 mur-chrech (sic leg.), 45. *See note.*  
  
 nenaíd, *the common nettle*, 23; *dat.*  
     *dobeir lán a duirn do nenaíd dó*,  
     *Hib. Min. 72, 2*; *gen. nirba him-*  
     *pide nendta im chloich áeil*, *Rawl.*  
     512, 113 b<sup>2</sup>; *Síd Nenta, n. 1.*  
  
 óg-díre, *f. a full due*, 36.  
 óil, *f. a cheek*, 7. *See leth-óil.*  
 opair, *f. work*, 3.  
  
 pennait, *f. penance*; *gen. penda*, 35.  
 poll, *m. a hole, pit*; *dat. asin pull tal-*  
     *man*, 2.  
 port, *m. a place*, 36; *dat. for indara*  
     *burt (port, B)*, 7; *for in burt (bpurt,*  
     *B)*, *ib.*

ráth, *a guarantee, guarantor*, 26; n. pl. rátha, 22, 26.

reilec, *a burial-place*; acc. reilec, 25.

ríacad, *a tearing*; ríacad étaich, 50.

rigim, *I stretch*; fut. sg. 1: rigfet, 11.

roid, *dye-stuff*, 52. Laws.

ro-sagim, *I reach*; ní roisit, 11.

rúam, *red dye*, 52.

sad (sod), *f. a bitch*; dat. fó saidh, 8.

saigim, *I claim*; ná-da-sla, 31; verb-n. saigid, 30.

saigtheche, *f. a suit, claim*, 39.

sál, *brine*, 13; gen. dar tuind sruthra sále sing, LL. 298 a.

salchur, *slime*, 14. BB. 450 a, 28; TF. 24, 21.

sár-tairbert, 44. *See note.*

screpall, *m. a scruple, a standard of value*; screpall óir, 24; nom. pl. scripuil, 44.

screplach (collective), *f. gen. screplaigi*, 19.

séimed, *seed, race*, 19, 20.

sep, *beans*, 52; seib gl. *faba*, Sg. 73 a, 5.

síu, *here*; síu nó tall, 9.

sóer-chland, *a freeman, noble*, 26.

sroigled, *a flogging*, 3.

súil, *m. a learned man, sage*; acc. pl. súthiu (suithi, B), 28.

táide, *f. secrecy, stealth*, 52. Cf. dune-táide.

taiselbad, *an exhibiting*; i tasilbhath, *as a trophy*, 3.

tartur. *See dorat.*

téchteaide, *lawful*, 34, 42.

tíag, *f. a satchel, bag*; tíag (tēch, B) looin, 3.

tiget, *m. thickness*; ba sé tigēt in áir, 7.

toichned<sup>1</sup>, *keeping a person fasting*; fri toichniuth, 48. Laws; toichne[d] beoil cin biadh, H. 3. 18, 207 a; hi toichned i. hi troscud, LU. 84 a, 31.

tragna, *a cornrake*, 23; labraid tragna trén bard, Four Songs, p. 10, § 7.

trebad, *household*; gen. trebthai, 24.

tréitíne, *a small flock*, 24.

trisse, *a period of three days*, 38; treise, Laws.

túarasndal, *testimony, proof*, 53; co tuarasndul, 46; tuarastal, Laws.

tuinideeh, 39. *See note.*

tummad, *a dipping*; do tummud, 2.

tustigud, *a bringing forth, propagation*, 4.

úag-ingen, *f. a virgin*, 9.

úar-both, *f. an outer hut*; dat. i n-úarboith, 2.

<sup>1</sup> Verb-noun of *do-cinim*, 'I fast'; docinet lais fo domnach, Imr. Brain, II, p. 286, l. 24.



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